Francis THE Hargrave

Irish Rebellion:

OR, AN

HISTORY

Of the Beginnings and first Progress of the

General Rebellion,

Raised within the

Kingdom of IRELAND,

UPON

The Three and Twentieth Day of *October*, 1641.

Together with the

Barbarous Cruelties and Bloody Massacres which ensued thereupon.

Publish'd in the Year 1646. by Sir JOHN TEMPLE, Kt. Master of the Rolls, and one of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council within the Kingdom of IRELAND.

The SIXTH EDITION,

Reprinted from the best *London*-Edition, 1679. wherein several entire Sentences, omitted in all the *Irish*-Editions, are truly inserted; many other Omissions, Errors and Mistakes carefully supplied, corrected, and amended. To which is also prefix'd, The late Act of Parliament, made the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Years of King CHARLES II. for Keeping and Celebrating the Twenty Third of *October*, as an Anniversary Thanksgiving in this Kingdom.

To which is added,

Sir *HENRY TICHBORNE's* HISTORY of the SIEGE of DROGHEDA, in the Year 1641.

As also, The whole Tryal of CONNOR Lord MAC-GUIRE, with the perfect Copies of the Indictment, and all the Evidences against him. Together with the POPE's Bull to the Confederate Catholicks in *Ireland*.

DUBLIN:

Printed by and for AARON RHAMES, and are to be sold by the Booksellers, MDCCXXIV.

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THE PREFACE

Mish TO THE Roberts

READER.



I Have here adventured to preſent unto publick View, the Beginnings and firſt Progreſs of the **Rebellion** *lately raiſed within this Kingdom of* IRELAND. *And although I cannot but take notice of ſuch a multitude of Imperfections in my ſelf as render me very unfit for the performance of this Service: As alſo, that I ſhall thereby raiſe up much Malice, and private Diſpleaſure, as well againſt my Perſon, as my Undertakings herein: Yet ſuch is my Zeal and moſt earneſt Deſire to appear in this Cauſe, as being now laid aſide, and for the preſent diſabled in any other way to be further uſeful to this unhappy Kingdom, I reſolved to deny my ſelf, and wholly departing from my own Intereſts, to employ my weak Endeavours, in ſetting down the ſad Story of our Miſeries. I might, peradventure, with much more Advantage to my own particular have looked back, (as far wiſer Men have done in their Troubles) and paſſed my time in foreign Collections, or penning ſome Story of Times long ſince paſt, where the chief Actors are at reſt, and their unquiet Spirits ſo ſurely laid, as they are not to be moved with the ſharpeſt Charge that can be laid on their Memories:* Nulli gravis eſt percuſſus Achilles. *Moſt Men are great Lovers of themſelves, and ſuch conſtant Admirers of their own Actions, as they think they do well to be Angry at any thing that ſhall (though never ſo truly) be reported to their Diſadvantage. They*

consider not their own natural Imbecillities, their Passions, Distempers, or ill Affections, which lead them on to advise or act Things of an ill Fame; but are ready to fly in the Faces of those who shall even in the fairest Characters represent or leave any Impressions of them. Hence it is that the truth of Things comes quite to be overshadowed with false Colours, and so to remain as it were buried alive, or otherwise to appear extremely disfigured through gross Errors, base Flattery, or wilful Mistakes. For most Men that are present Adventurers in this kind, are wise enough to apprehend their own Danger; and thereupon departing from the common Interest that every other man hath in their Story, reflect only upon their own particular, and suffer themselves to be over-awed with the humour of the present Times; or so far transported, either with the Benefits or private Injuries received from particular Persons, as they transmit very imperfect and weaker Relations, or otherwise fill them up with such counterfeit Stuff, as Posterity will owe little to their Information.

Memoires du Monsieur *du Plessis*, fol. 45.

Monsieur du Plessis, *a Person of extraordinary Abilities and Learning, a great Minister of State under that glorious King* Henry *the* 4th *of* France, *undertook, as it appears by a Letter of his to* Monsieur Languet, *to write a Story of those Times wherein he lived. But I cannot find that he ever suffered that Work to come to the Press; whether by just Apprehensions discouraged from Publication, or whether it otherwise miscarried, I cannot say. But sure I am, in the same Letter he bitterly declaims against the Humour of the Times, and there plainly tells us, that after one hath writ an History, he dares not adventure the publishing of it.* Si non qu'il allegue pour cause d'un effect, (ce qui n'a pas esté,) comme une cause genereuse, au lieu de l'amour d'une femme, & d'une querelle de bordeau. *Such was then the Iniquity of those Times, so abominable and shameful the true Causes of the Imbroilments in that Kingdom, that those Wars (as the Court was then governed) had for the most part their first Beginnings from some ill placed Affection, or a private Quarrel in an infamous Place. And further speaking on this Subject, he intimates how dangerous it is to set forth the Actions of Men in their true Colours; and how bitter and corroding to the Conscience of an Historian to disguise or make them appear otherwise to the World, then they were in their first Original.*

To speak Truth exactly, is highly commendable in any Man, especially in one that takes upon him to be a publick Informer: to raze, to corrupt a Record is a Crime of a very high Nature, and by the Laws of the Land most severely punishable. Histories are called Testes temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ: *And certainly he doth offend in an high Degree, who shall either negligently suffer or wilfully procure them to bring false Evidence; that shall make them dark Lanthorns to give light but on the one Side, or as* Ignes fatui, *to cause the Reader to wander from the Truth, and vainly to follow false Shadows, or the factious Humours*

Cicero de Orat.

Humours of the Writer's Brain. To be false, to deceive, to lie, even in ordinary Discourse, are Vices commonly branded with much Infamy, and held in great Detestation by all good Men. And therefore certainly those that arrive at such a height of Impudency, as Magisterially to take upon them, not only to Abuse the present but future Ages, must needs render themselves justly odious. They stand responsible for other Mens Errors; and whereas in all other notorious Offenders, their Sin and their Life determines at farthest together: The Sin of these Men is perpetuated after their Decease, they speak when they are dead, make false Infusions into every Age, and court every new Person that shall many Years after cast his Eyes upon their Story to give belief to their Lies. Therefore for my own part when I first undertook this Task, I took up with it a Resolution most clear-sighted to declare the Truth. I have cast up my Accounts, I have set up my Rest, and determine rather to displease any other Man than offend my own Conscience. I have neither private Reflections, nor foreign Ends; I am now as it were reduced into my first Principles, and have taken this Work upon me, meerly out of publick Considerations. All that I aim at is, that there may remain for the benefit of this present Age, as well as of Posterity, some certain Records and Monuments of the first Beginnings and fatal Progress of this Rebellion, together with the **horrid Cruelties** *most unmercifully exercised by the* **Irish Rebels** *upon the* British *and Protestants within this Kingdom of* IRELAND. *That when God's time is come of returning it into the Bosoms of those who have been the first* Plotters *or present* Actors *therein, and that Kingdom comes to be re-planted with* British, *and settled in Peace again, (which I have even in our lowest Condition, with great Confidence attended, and do now most undoubtedly believe will e're long be brought to pass) there may be such a Course taken, such Provisions made, and such a Wall of Separation set up betwixt the* Irish *and the* British, *as it shall not be in their Power to rise up (as now and in all former Ages they have done) to destroy and root them out in a Moment, before they be able to put themselves in a posture of Defence, or to gather together to make any considerable resistance against their bloody Attempts.*

I shall not pretend to Entertain the Reader with Political Maxims, grave Sentences, or flourishing Orations: That which I hope will cover over a multitude of Imperfections, is the unquestionable Truth of what I shall set down in a plain and brief Narration of all the Causes and Proceedings hold in the raising, as well in the first Counsels and Undertakings for the Suppression of this **bloody Rebellion.**

And that I might in some measure compass my Design herein, and give Satisfaction even to the most curious Inquisitors after Truth, I did with great Care and Diligence turn over the very Originals or Authentical Copies of the Voluminous Examinations remaining with the publick Register, and taken upon Oath,

by

by virtue of two ſeveral Commiſſions iſſued out under the Great Seal of this Kingdom to examine the Loſſes of the Britiſh, *the* Cruelties *and* horrid Murders *committed by the* Iriſh *in the Deſtruction of them. I have peruſed the publick Diſpatches, Acts, and Relations, as likewiſe the private Letters and particular Diſcourſes ſent by the chief Gentlemen out of ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, to preſent unto the Lords Juſtices and Council the ſad Condition of their Affairs. And having been made acquainted with all the moſt ſecret Paſſages and Councils of the State, I have, as far as I could, without breach of Truſt, and as the Duty of a Privy Councellour would admit, communicated ſo much of them as I conceived neceſſary and proper for publick Information. And ſetting aſide the particulars contained within the firſt Pages, leading on by way of Introduction to the enſuing Troubles, which I have taken upon Truſt out of the moſt approved Authors both Ancient and Modern, who have written the Story of* Ireland, *I may confidently avow, that I have been ſo curious in gathering up my Materials, and ſo careful in putting them together, as very few Paſſages will be found here inſerted which have not either fallen within the Compaſs of my own Knowledge, or that I have not received from thoſe who were chiefly intruſted in Matters of Action abroad; or that came not to my Hands atteſted under the Oaths of credible Witneſſes, or clearly aſſerted in the voluntary Confeſſions of the* Rebels *themſelves.*

Every Man, I believe, will eaſily aſſent unto me, that out of theſe Fountains we may preſume with moſt Certainty to draw Truth, and that if we bound our Enquiries within this Circuit, we may well hope to arrive at the true Knowledge of the main particular Paſſages of this late Rebellion. *And therefore though I ſhall not obtrude every Thing as infallible, which by a ſtrict and moſt ſevere Inquiſition I have taken upon the Grounds before mentioned (conſidering how ſubject Men are through Forgetfulneſs and humane Imbecillity to err in the ordinary Courſe of their Relations) yet thus much I ſuppoſe I may confidently ſay, that no Man could imagine how to make Collections with greater Certainty, and more clear unqueſtionable Probabilities of Truth than I have here ſet down.*

Now as for the Examinations here mentioned, howſoever they were taken with all the Care and Circumſpection that could poſſibly be uſed in ſo great a Work, yet are they moſt commonly decried, and held by the Iriſh *as very injurious to their Country-men. Thus much I ſhall be bold to aver, and ſhall here ſpeak it for the better Authority and Credit of the Evidence brought in by them;*

First, *That as the Commiſſions for taking thoſe Examinations were after mature Deliberation iſſued out by ſpecial Order from the Lords Juſtices and Council; ſo they were in great Wiſdom deſigned by them for no other Ends than to have ſome general Account of the Loſſes ſuffered by the* Britiſh, *and the*

Cruelties

Cruelties *exerciſed by the* Iriſh *upon them in the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. And this Courſe was firſt ſet on Foot in the very Height of our Troubles, when the Fury of the* Rebels *ſo deſperately raged, as they were in no Condition to think of the attainting of their Perſons, and therefore only aimed at the Diſcovery of their* Treaſon. *Out of which Reſpect chiefly the Commiſſioners made choice of for the Performance of this Service, were ſix of the* Clergy, *all Perſons of known Integrity; and ſuch as by Reaſon of their Profeſſion, would in all Probability gently proceed on in their Inquiſitions, and truly ſet down the bloody Relations given in unto them. The Perſons examined were of ſeveral Conditions, moſt of them* Britiſh, *ſome of* Iriſh *Birth and Extraction, very many of good Quality, and ſuch as were of inferiour Rank were not rejected if they were known Sufferers, and came freely in to declare what they could ſpeak of their own Knowledge. Few came but ſuch as had been in the Hands of the* Rebels, *and could with ſorrowful Hearts make the ſad Relation of their own Miſeries. And ſo they having been Eye-Witneſſes, their Depoſitions are for the moſt part out of their own Knowledge; and what is given in by them upon hear-ſay, they for the moſt part depoſe, That they received it out of the* Rebels *own Mouths while they were in reſtraint among them.* Laſtly, *Many of theſe miſerable Perſons thus examined, came up wounded, others even almoſt famiſhed; or ſo worn out with their Sufferings, as they did not long out-live the Date of their Examinations: So as theſe Teſtimonies being delivered in their laſt Agonies, we are in Charity to believe that they would leave behind them with all due Circumſtances, a clear Atteſtation of ſuch* Cruelties *as they then bequeathed unto us with their laſt Breath.*

* *But it is not much to be wondred, if they who had it in Deſign to deſtroy all the publick Records and ancient Monuments in the Kingdom, to baniſh both the* Engliſh *Law and Government, do ſo bitterly declaim againſt theſe Evidences of their* Cruelty, *and lively* Atteſtations *given in to perpetuate the Memory of them to their eternal Infamy.*

If they could imagine which Way to ſilence, or by what Means to blaſt the Credit of theſe Examinations thus ſolemnly taken, and prevail according to their moſt impetuous Deſires upon the late Treaty of Peace, to have all the Indictments legally put in againſt the principal Rebels *and their Adherents, taken off the File and cancelled, they would not be out of Hope, as theſe Times now are,*

* Mr. *Creighton* in his Examination depoſeth, That he heard many bitter Words caſt out againſt the City of *Dublin*, That they would burn and ruin it, deſtroy all Records and Monuments of the *Engliſh* Government; Make Laws againſt ſpeaking *Engliſh*, and that all Names given by the *Engliſh* to places, ſhould be aboliſhed, and the ancient Names reſtored.

to palliate their **Rebellion** *with such specious Pretences, as that their* **barbarous Cruelties**, *acted beyond all parallel, being forgotten, it should with great Applause pass down to Posterity, under the name of a Holy and Just War for the Defence of the Catholick Cause.*

And now in Order to this Design, they have taken all Occasions to proclaim the huge Pressures which they pretend to have suffered under the late Government in this Kingdom, and spare not to term it Tyrannical: they speak as if their Oppressions might be parallel'd with the Israelitish Envassalage *in the Land of* Ægypt, *and their Persecutions, for Religion equalled to those of the Primitive Times. And then they further say,* That thereupon only some Catholicks, considering the deplorable and desperate Condition they were in, and apprehending the Plots laid to extinguish their Religion, and Nation, did take Arms in the North in maintenance of their Religion, and for the Preservation of Life, Liberty, and Estate; together with his Majesty's Rights. And that the Lords and Gentlemen dwelling within the *English Pale*, were likewise by the great Rigour and Severity used by the State towards them, enforced to take up Arms for their own Defence.

A Remonstrance of grievances presented to his Majesty in behalf of the Catholicks of *Ireland*, and given in to his Majesty's Commissioners at *Trym*, March 17, 1642.

These are the Expressions and the Language used in the late Remonstrance given in to his Majesty's Commissioners at Trym, *to be presented to his Majesty in behalf of his Catholick Subjects in* Ireland. *Wherein there are put together so many vain inconsiderable Fancies, many subsequent Passages acted in the Prosecution of the War, and such bold, notorious, false Assertions, without any the least Ground or Colour of Truth: as without all doubt they absolutely resolved, first to raise this* **Rebellion**, *and then to set their Lawyers and Clergy on Work, to frame such Reasons and Motives as might with some Colour or Justification serve for Arguments to defend it. And it is indeed, to speak plainly, a most infamous Pamphlet, full Fraught with scandalous Aspersions cast upon the present Government, and his Majesty's principal Officers of State within this Kingdom. It was certainly framed with most virulent Intentions, not to present their Condition and present Sufferings to His Majesty, but that it might be dispersed to gain Belief among foreign States abroad, as well as discontented Persons at home; and so draw Assistance and Aid, to foment and strengthen their* **Rebellious Party** *in* Ireland.

But I do not much wonder they should take thus upon them to abuse the World with such scurrilous Discourses, and thereby endeavour to raise some Ground or Belief that they had just Cause to enter into so desperate a **Rebellion**. *This hath been an ordinary Course ever-held in all designs of this Nature. And it is well observed by* Polybius, *that there are commonly to be found in all such great undertakings,* Causæ suasoriæ, *and* Causæ justificæ. *The first,*

firſt, ſuch as are the true natural Cauſes, and really firſt in the Intention; the other, ſuch as are moſt commonly obtruded to the World by Way of Cover and Juſtification. Now as the Nature of Water is moſt clearly ſeen in the firſt Fountain, where it remains pure and unmixed, without any Droſs or Soil that it afterwards contracts, as it paſſeth along in the Streams derived from it: So certainly the Quality of all human Actions is beſt underſtood, and moſt clearly diſcerned, when we look upon them as they appear in their firſt Original, before the Inconveniences and fatal Miſcarriages which afterwards come to be diſcovered, awake the firſt Projectors, and teach them new Artifices wherewith they diſguiſe and colour over their abortive, or otherwiſe unfortunate Counſels. Now as for the true Suaſorian Cauſes (if I may ſo term them) which induced the Iriſh *to lay the Plot of this* **Rebellion**, *and were indeed really firſt in their Thoughts, they will ſufficiently appear in this enſuing Story. And for the juſtificial Reaſons of their riſing in Arms, if any one hath a mind to take them up on Truſt from themſelves, let him ſeek no further than the* Remonſtrance *before mentioned; whereof much more is to be ſaid than I ſhall give my ſelf Liberty to ſpeak in this Place: well knowing that thoſe* notorious Untruths *and* wicked Impoſtures *contained in it when they come to the* Teſt *will be quickly diſcovered, and the* Varniſh *they have put upon them ſoon fall away of itſelf.*

If any one hath been ignorantly deluded hereby, and deſires to be rectified in his own Judgment, let him be pleaſed to turn over this enſuing Story.

Verum eſt Index ſui & obliqui:

There needs certainly no other confutation of their falſe and virulent ſuggeſtions, than a true impartial relation of the firſt Beginnings and Progreſs of this **Rebellion**: *which for what was acted within the Space of the firſt two Months after the breaking out of it, I preſume I may ſay without Vanity, he ſhall certainly find here. It is true, I have principally applyed my ſelf to give an Account of what was done about* DUBLIN, *the chief City of this Kingdom, and the Place where the Lords Juſtices and Council continued uſing their utmoſt Power and Endeavours to oppoſe the Fury of the* **Rebels**. *Yet as all other Parts of the Kingdom were under their Government, and their Care and Counſels (as far as their general Diſtractions would admit) extended to the whole, what was acted in all other Places of the Country, comes properly to be touched upon, and the miſerable Condition of them to be repreſented in this following* Story.

I ſhall not here trouble the Reader with any further Apology for my ſelf, or with Excuſes for the Multitude of my own Imperfections, which will here appear in large Characters; and will be peradventure looked upon with a Multi-

plying Glass by those who are not pleased with what I have here exposed to publick View. I do not at all pretend to silence the bitter Expressions of Malevolent Spirits: As I shall with great Patience compose my self to bear the utmost that their Malice can put upon me: So I shall be always ready with much Meekness to submit to be Reformed by any Person whatsoever, who can make it appear, that I have either through Ignorance or Negligence (for I am sure wilful Mistakes they will find none) miscarried in the Relation of any Particular here set down: Sins of Ignorance found a very easie Expiation under the Old Law, I will not say they had a Pardon of Course. But if I have so carried my self, as that no greater Transgressions can be laid to my Charge, I shall be much satisfied, and may peradventure be further Encouraged to proceed on to a Continuation of this Story, *and therein to transmit down to Posterity the Noble Atchievements and great Victories already obtained by small Numbers of the* English Forces *over huge Multitudes of these* Irish Rebels.

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AN

An ACT for keeping and celebrating the Three and twentieth Day of *October*, as an Anniverſary Thankſgiving in this Kingdom.

WHereas many Malignant and Rebellious Papiſts and Jeſuits, Friers, Seminary Prieſts and other Superſtitious Orders of the Popiſh pretended Clergy, moſt diſloyally, treacherouſly and wickedly conſpired to ſurprize his Majeſties Caſtle of Dublin, his Majeſties principal Fort of this Kingdom of Ireland, the City of Dublin, and all other Cities and Fortifications of this Realm, and that all the Proteſtants and Engliſh throughout the whole Kingdom that would not joyn with them ſhould be cut off, and finally by a general Rebellion, to deprive our late Sovereign Lord of ever bleſſed Memory King CHARLES the Firſt of this his ancient and rightful Crown and Sovereignty of this Kingdom, and to poſſeſs themſelves thereof, all which was by the ſaid Conſpirators plotted and intended to be acted on the Three and twentieth Day of October, in the Year of our Lord God One thouſand ſix hundred forty and one, a Conſpiracy ſo generally Inhuman, Barbarous and Cruel, as the like was never before heard of in any Age or Kingdom, and if it had taken effect in that fulneſs which was intended by the Conſpirators, it had occaſioned the utter Ruin of this whole Kingdom, and the Government thereof, And however it pleaſed Almighty God in his unſearchable Wiſdom and Juſtice as a juſt Puniſhment, and deſerved Correction to his People for their Sins, and the Sins of this Kingdom to permit then and afterwards the effecting of a great part of that Deſtruction complotted by thoſe wicked Conſpirators, whereby many Thouſand Britiſh and Proteſtants have been Maſſacred, many thouſands of others of them have been afflicted and tormented with the moſt exquiſite Torments that Malice could ſuggeſt, and all Mens Eſtates as well thoſe whom they barbarouſly murthered, as all other good Subjects were waſted, ruined and deſtroyed, yet as his Divine Majeſty hath in all Ages ſhewn his Power and Mercy in the miraculous and gracious Deliverance of his Church, and in the Protection of Religious Kings and States, ſo even in the midſt of his Juſtice he was graciouſly pleaſed to extend Mercy to his Majeſty and to this his Kingdom, and good Subjects therein,

therein, not only in merciful discovering to the then Lords Justices by one Owen O Connely a meer Irish Man, but trained up in the Protestant Religion, who out of a Sense of his Duty and Loyalty to his Majesty, and for the Preservation of his good People, and as an Effect of that Religion he was trained up in, revealed that hideous and bloody Treason, not many hours before the appointed time for the Execution thereof, but also in preserving the said Castle and City of Dublin, and some other Cities, Towns and Castles in the Kingdom from the bloody hands of the barbarous Conspirators, as also in thereby rendring Deliverance of the Lives of the said Lords Justices and Council, and of all the British and Protestants in Dublin, and in the said other Cities, Towns and Castles preserved, and of sundry other British and Protestants fallen into the Hands of those Rebellious Conspirators, and likewise in sending us Succours out of England hither, by the Piety, Care and Wisdom of our late Sovereign Lord King CHARLES the first, whereby with God's Blessing the good Subjects of this Kingdom have hitherto continued safe under his mighty Protection, notwithstanding the unexampled Rage and implacable Malice of those merciless Rebels. Wherefore as we do most humbly and justly acknowledge Gods Justice in our deserved Punishments in those Calamities, which from the Councels and Actions of those Conspirators and their Adherents have fallen upon us in this Kingdom in general, so we do in like manner acknowledge, that even in exercising of that his Justice he remembred Mercy also, and magnified his Mercies to us in those great Blessings which we humbly confess to have proceeded meerly from his infinite Goodness and Mercy, And therefore to his most holy Name we do ascribe all Honour, Glory and Praise, And to the End this unfeigned Thankfulness may never be forgotten, but may be had in a perpetual Remembrance, that all Ages to come may yield Praises to his Divine Majesty for the same, and have in Memory that joyful Day of Deliverance, Be it therefore Enacted by the Kings most excellent Majesty, with the Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by Authority of the same, that the Three and twentieth Day of October shall be kept, and celebrated as an Anniversary Holy Day in this Kingdom for ever, and that all Persons do at that Day forbear all bodily Labour, and the Exercise of their Trades, and that all and singular Ministers in every Cathedral and Parish Church, or other usual Place for Common Prayer within this Realm of Ireland,

land, shall always upon the Three and twentieth Day of October say Morning Prayer and give Thanks to Almighty God for that most happy and miraculous Deliverance and Preservation far above the Expectations of those wretched Conspirators. And that all and every Person and Persons inhabiting within this Realm of Ireland, shall yearly upon the Three and twentieth Day of October diligently and faithfully resort to the Parish Church or Chappel accustomed, or to some usual Church or Chappel where the said Morning Prayer, Preaching, or other Service of God shall be used, and then and there abide orderly and soberly during the time of the said Prayers, Preaching or other Service of God there to be used and ministred, And because all and every Person may be put in mind of his Duty, and be then the better prepared to the said holy Service: Be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that every Minister shall give warning to his Parishioners publickly in the Church at Morning Prayer the Lords-Day next before every such Three and twentieth Day of October for the due Observation of the said Day, and that after Morning Prayer or Preaching upon every such Three and twentieth Day of October, they read publickly, distinctly and plainly this present Act.

THE

THE
Iriſh Rebellion:
OR,
An HISTORY of the Beginnings, and Firſt Progreſs of the General Rebellion Raiſed within the Kingdom of *IRELAND*, in the Year 1641.

THE Kingdom of *Ireland* (which hath for almoſt five Hundred Years continued under the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*) was preſently after the firſt Conqueſt of it, planted with *Engliſh* Colonies, long ſince worn out, or for the moſt part become *Iriſh*. And therefore it hath again in this laſt Age been ſupplied with great Numbers of People drawn out of *England* and *Scotland*, to ſettle their Habitations in that Country. Now the moſt execrable Plot laid by the *Iriſh*, for the univerſal Extirpation of all theſe *Britiſh* and *Proteſtants*, the bloody Progreſs of their Rebellion within the compaſs of the firſt two Months; their horrid Cruelties, in moſt barbarouſly murdering, or otherwiſe deſtroying many Thouſands of Men, Women and Children, peaceably ſettled, and ſecurely intermixed among them, and that without any provocation, or conſiderable reſiſtance at firſt made, I intend ſhall be the preſent ſubject of the firſt Part of this enſuing Story. 1641.

The *Iriſh* want not many Fabulous Inventions to magnifie the very firſt beginnings of their Nation. Whether the *Scythians*, *Gauls*, *Africans*, *Goths*, or ſome other more Eaſtern Nation that anciently inhabited *Spain*, came and ſate down firſt in *Ireland*, I ſhall not much trouble my ſelf here to enquire. If we ſhould give credit to the *Iriſh* Chronicles or their Bards (who deliver no certain truths) we might find ſtuff enough for an ancient The Original of the *Iriſh*.

1641. Pedigree, made up out of a moſt various ſtrange Compoſure of the *Iriſh* Nation: But to let them paſs, there are certainly a concurrence of divers Manners and Cuſtoms, ſuch affinity of ſeveral of their Words and Names, and ſo great reſemblance of many long uſed Rites, and ſtill retained Ceremonies as do give us ſome ground to believe that they do not improbably deduce their firſt original from ſome of thoſe People. It may very well be conjectured (for infallible Records I find none) that as the Eaſtern parts of *Ireland*, bordering upon *England* were firſt planted by the old Britains: (*a*) *Toole*, *Birne* and *Cauvenagh* the ancient Septs, and ſtill Inhabitants of that part of the Country, being old *Britiſh* words. And as the Northern parts of *Ireland* were firſt inhabited by the *Scythians*, from whom it was called (*b*) *Scytenland*, or *Scotland*: So the Southern and more weſtern parts thereof were peopled from the maritime parts of *Spain*, being the next Continent, not by the now Spaniſh Nation, who are ſtrangely compounded of a different mixture of ſeveral people: But as I ſaid, peradventure by the *Gauls*, who anciently inhabited all the Sea-coaſts of *Spain*, the *Syrians*, or ſome other of thoſe more Eaſtern Nations, who intermixing with the natural Inhabitants of that Country, made a tranſmigration into *Ireland*, and ſo ſettled ſome Colonies there.

(*c*) The whole Kingdom of *Ireland* was divided into divers petty Principalities, of later times there were five principal Chieftains, *viz. Mac-Morough* of *Leinſter*, *Mac-Cartye* of *Munſter*, *O Neal* of *Ulſter*, *O Connor* of *Conaght*, and *O Malaghlin* of *Meath*. For ſuch were the *Iriſh* denominations, and I do not find they were called Kings till about the time of the coming over of the Engliſh; *Giraldus Cambrenſis* who came into *Ireland* in the time of *Henry* II. of *England*, being the firſt writer that gives them that Title. Beſides, as they came not in either by hereditary right or lawful Election, ſo their Inveſtiture was ſolemnized neither by Unction, or Coronation, they made their way by the Sword, had certain kinds of barbarous ceremonies uſed at their Inauguration, kept up their power with a high hand, and held the people moſt monſtrouſly enſlaved to all the ſavage cuſtoms practiſed under their dominion. And thus they continued until the Reign of *Henry* II. King of *England*, in whoſe time the undertakings for the Conqueſt of *Ireland* were ſucceſsfully made by moſt powerful (though private) (*d*) adventures upon this occaſion.

(*a*) *Tools* of the old Britain word *Toll*, a Hill Country. *Brime* of *Brin*, woods. *Cauvenagh* of *Cauva* ſtrong. The view of *Ireland* by *Spencer* f. 33. (*b*) *Ireland* is often called *Scotia Major* among ancient writers. (*c*) *Ireland* anciently divided into divers petty principalities. *Iſti reges non fuerunt ordinati ſolemnitate alicujus ordinis, nec unctionis ſacramento, nec jure hæreditario, vel aliqua proprietatis ſucceſſione, ſed vi & armis quilibet regnum ſuum obtinuit.* (*d*) The firſt enterpriſe of the *Engliſh* upon *Ireland* made by private adventures.

Der-

(e) *Dermott Mac-Morough* King of *Leinſter* (being by the Kings of *Conaght* and *Meath* enforced to fly his country) made his repair directly to *Henry* II. King of *England*, then perſonally attending his Wars in *France*, and with much earneſtneſs implored his aid for the recovery of his Territories in *Ireland*, moſt injuriouſly, as he pretended, wreſted out of his hands. The King refuſed to imbarque himſelf in this quarrel: Yet graciouſly recommended the Juſtice of his cauſe to all his loving Subjects, and by his Letters Patents aſſured them that whoſoever would afford the ſaid *Mac-Morough* aſſiſtance towards his reſettlement, ſhould not only have free liberty to tranſport their Forces, but be held to do very acceptable ſervice, therein (f). Hereupon Earl *Strangebow* firſt engaging himſelf, determined as a private Adventurer to endeavour his reſtitution with the utmoſt force he could raiſe, he lying then very conveniently at *Briſtol*, where *Mac-Morough* came unto him, in his paſſage back from the King into *Ireland*; There were certain conditions agreed upon between them, and a tranſaction made by *Mac-Morough* of his Kingdom of *Leinſter* unto the Earl, upon his Marriage with his only daughter *Eva*. And ſo he being deſirous to return ſpeedily into his own Country, paſſed to St. *Davids*, in *South-Wales*, from whence is the ſhorteſt paſſage out of *England* into *Ireland*; and there he further engaged *Fitz-Stephen* and *Fitz-Gerald*, private Gentlemen, in this ſervice: Theſe by their power among their Country-men in thoſe parts, having gotten together a party of 490 men, tranſported them in three ſhips into *Ireland*, landing at the *Banne*, a little creek near *Featherd*, in the county of *Wexford*, and there joyning with ſome forces brought unto them by *Mac-Morough*, made their firſt attempt upon the town of *Wexford*, they were gallantly ſeconded by Earl *Strangebow*, who followed preſently after with no very conſiderable forces; And yet by the power of their arms, within a very ſhort time prevailed ſo far in the country, as they made themſelves maſters thereof, and ſo gained the poſſeſſion of all the maritime parts of *Leinſter*. 1641. *Camba. cap.* 1.

King *Henry* upon the news of their proſperous ſucceſs in the ſudden reducement of ſo large a territory by ſuch inconſiderable forces as they carried with them; deſirous to ſhare with his ſubjects in the rich fruits, as well as in the glory of ſo great an action, undertook an expedition in his own perſon into *Ireland* the year following. And ſo ſtrange an influence had the very preſence of this great Prince into the minds of the rude ſavage Natives, as partly by the power of his arms, partly by his grace and favour in receiving of them in upon their fained ſubmiſſions moſt humbly tendred unto him, he eaſily ſubdued a barbarous divided people. K. *Henry* II. his expedition into *Ireland*. An. 1172.

(e) The black book of Chriſt-church in *Dublin*, it is an ancient Manuſcript kept there.
(f) *Se noſtram ad hoc tam gratiam noverit quam licentiam obtinere.* Gir. Cambren. expugnat. Hib. c. 1.

1641. The firſt beginnings of the Conqueſt of this Kingdom were thus glorioufly laid by this King, in the year of our Lord 1172. Now for the Land it ſelf, he found it good and flouriſhing with many excellent commodities, plentiful in all kinds of proviſion, the ſoil rich and fertile, the Air ſweet and temperate, the Havens very ſafe and commodious, ſeveral Towns and little Villages ſcattered up and down in the ſeveral parts of the Country; but the buildings ſo poor and contemptible, as when that King arrived at *Dublin* their chief City, and finding there neither place fit for receipt or entertainment, (*f*) he ſet up a long houſe made of ſmoothed wattles after the manner of the Country, and therein kept his Chriſtmas. All their Forts, Caſtles, ſtately buildings and other edifices were afterwards erected by the *Engliſh*, except ſome of their maritime Towns which were built by the *Oſtmanni* or *Eſterlings* who anciently came and inhabited in *Ireland*.

(*g*) Moreover he found likewiſe by ſeveral monuments of piety, and other remarkable teſtimonies, that Chriſtian Religion had been long ſince introduced and planted among the inhabitants of the land. It is not certainly without ſome good grounds affirmed by ancient writers, that in the fourth age after the incarnation of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour, ſome holy and learned men came over out of foreign parts into *Ireland*, out of their pious deſires to propagate the bleſſed Goſpel throughout the Kingdom, as *Sedulius*, *Palladius*, and beſides ſeveral others, *Patricius* the famous *Iriſh* Saint, (a *Britain* born at a place now called *Kirk-Patrick* near *Glaſcow* in *Scotland*, then the utmoſt boundary of the *Britains* dominions in thoſe parts,) who out of meer devotion came and ſpent much of their time among the *Iriſh*, and out of their zealous affections for the converſion of a barbarous people, applied themſelves with great care and induſtry to the inſtructing of them in the true grounds and principles of Chriſtian Religion. And with ſo great ſucceſs, and ſuch unwearied endeavours did St. *Patrick* travel in this work, as (if we will give credit to ſome writers) we muſt believe that the Church of *Armagh* was by him erected into an Archiepiſcopal See, three hundred and fifty Biſhops conſecrated, great numbers of Clergy-men inſtituted, who (notwithſtanding the notorious impiety and continued prophaneneſs of the common ſort of people) being moſt of them Monks by vow and profeſſion, of great learning, very auſtere and ſtrict in their diſcipline, were ſo much taken notice of in thoſe rude ignorant times, by other Nations, as in reſpect of them ſome gave

(*f*) *Rog. Hoveden* calls it *Palatium regium miro artificio de virgis levigatis ad modum patriæ illius conſtructum. fol.* 528. (*g*) Chriſtian Religion ſettled in *Ireland*, by *Sedulius*, *Palladius*, *Patricius* in the fourth age after the birth of our Saviour.

unto

unto the Iſland the denomination of *Inſula Sanctorum*. But ſo quickly did the power of holineſs decay in the land, as the name was ſoon loſt, and even the very prints and characters thereof among the very Clergy themſelves obliterated; the life of the people ſo beaſtly, their manners ſo depraved and barbarous, as that King *Henry*, when he entertained the firſt thoughts of transferring his Arms over into *Ireland*, (*h*) made ſuit unto the Pope, that he would give him leave to go and conquer *Ireland*, and reduce thoſe beaſtly men unto the way of truth. Anſwerable whereunto was the tenor of Pope *Adrian's* Bull, as appears at large in *Pariſienſis*, whereby he gave him liberty to go over and ſubdue the *Iriſh* Nation. A ſufficient demonſtration of the condition of that people, and what opinion was held of them, as well by the holy Father the Pope as other Princes. And the King at his arrival found them no other than a beaſtly people indeed: For the Inhabitants were generally devoid of all manner of civility, governed by no ſettled law, living like beaſts, biting and devouring one another, without all rules, cuſtoms, or reaſonable conſtitutions, either for regulation of Property, or againſt open force and violence, moſt notorious murthers, rapes, robberies, and all other acts of inhumanity and barbariſm, raging without controul or due courſe of puniſhment. Whereupon, he, without any manner of ſcruple, or farther inquiſition into particular titles, reſolving as it ſeems to make good by the ſword the Pope's donation, made a general ſeizure of all the lands of the whole Kingdom, and ſo without other ceremony took them all into his own hands. 1641.

(*i*) And that he might the more ſpeedily introduce religion and civility, and ſo draw on towards the accompliſhment of that great work which he had ſo gloriouſly begun, he firſt, in a great Council held at *Liſſemore*, cauſed the laws of *England* to be received and ſettled in *Ireland*, then he afterwards united it to the imperial Crown of *England*, (*k*) making large diſtributions to his followers by particular grants, allotting out in great proportions the whole land of *Ireland* among the *Engliſh* Commanders, who made eſtates, and gave ſeveral ſhares to their friends and commilitants that came over private adventurers with them. But before I paſs further, I ſhall take the liberty here to inſert one obſervation out of *Giraldus Cambrenſis* concerning the cauſe and reaſons of the proſperity of the *Engliſh* undertakings in *Ireland*. He ſaith, that a Synod, or Council of the

(*h*) *Rex Anglorum* Hen. *nuncios ſolennes Romam mittens rogavit Papam* Adrianum *ut ſibi liceret* Hiberniæ *Inſulam intrare, & terram ſubjugare, atque homines illos beſtiales ad fidem, & viam reducere veritatis.* Mat. Paris. Anno 1156. (*i*) *Rex antequam ab Hibernia redibat concilium congregavit apud Liſmore, ubi leges Angliæ ab omnibus gratenter ſunt acceptæ & juratoria cautione præſtita confirmatæ.* Mat. Paris. An. 1172. (*k*) *Ireland* divided by *K. Hen.* II. among his followers, and other adventurers.

1641. Clergy, being there aſſembled at *Armagh*, and that point fully debated, it was unanimouſly agreed by them all, that the ſins of the people were the occaſion of that heavy judgment then fallen upon their Nation, and that eſpecially their buying of *Engliſh-men* from Merchants and Pirates, and detaining them under a moſt miſerable hard bondage, had cauſed the Lord by way of juſt retaliation, to leave them to be reduced by the *Engliſh* to the ſame ſlavery. (*k*) Whereupon they made a publick act in that Council, that all the *Engliſh* held in captivity throughout the whole land, ſhould be preſently reſtored to their former liberty. If ſo heavy a judgment fell then upon the *Iriſh* for their hard uſage of ſome few *Engliſh*, what are they now to expect? Or what expiation can they now pretend to make for the late effuſion of ſo much innocent *Engliſh* blood, after ſo horrid, deſpiteful and execrable a manner? (*l*) There being ſince the Rebellion firſt broke out, unto the time of the Ceſſation made *Sept.* 15, 1643. which was not full two years after, above 300000 *Britiſh* and *Proteſtants* cruelly murthered in cold blood, deſtroyed ſome other way, or expelled out of their habitations, according to the ſtricteſt conjecture and computation, of thoſe who ſeemed beſt to underſtand the numbers of *Engliſh* planted in *Ireland*, beſides thoſe few which periſhed in the heat of fight, during the war.

(*m*) King *John* came into *Ireland* during his minority, though to little purpoſe, but after, about the twelfth year of his Reign, upon the general defection of the *Iriſh*, he made a ſecond expedition, and during his ſtay there, built ſeveral Forts and ſtrong Caſtles, many of which remain unto this day, he erected all the Courts of Judicature, and contributed very much towards the ſettlement of the *Engliſh* Colonies, as alſo of the civil Government. King *Richard* II. made likewiſe in the time of his Reign, upon the ſame occaſion two other expeditions into *Ireland* in his own perſon. But both thoſe Princes out of a deſire to ſpare the effuſion of *Engliſh* blood, as alſo the expence of treaſure, being likewiſe haſtned back by the diſtempers of their own ſubjects in *England*, were both content to ſuffer themſelves to be again abuſed by the fained ſubmiſſions of the *Iriſh*, who finding their own weakneſs, and utter diſability to reſiſt the power of thoſe two mighty Monarchs, came with all humility even from the fartheſt parts of the Kingdom, to ſubmit to their mercy: And yet it is well obſerved by ſome that ſay they returned back, not leaving one true ſubject more behind them, than they found at their firſt arrival.

(*k*) *Decretum eſt itaque prædicto concilio, & cum Univerſitatis conſenſu publice Statutum: ut Angli ubique per inſulam ſervitutis vinculo mancipati in priſtinam revocarentur libertatem.* Gir. Cam. expug. Hib. cap. 18. (*l*) The numbers of *Britiſh* and *Proteſtants* deſtroyed ſince the Rebellion (*m*) The fruitleſs expeditions of K. *John*, and K. *Rich.* II. into *Ireland*.

How-

Howſoever by the very preſence of theſe Princes, and by the careful endeavours of the Governours ſent over by other of the Kings of *England*, thoſe that were Adventurers in the firſt Conqueſt, and ſuch others of the *Engliſh* Nation as came over afterwards took poſſeſſion by vertue of the former grants of the whole Kingdom, drove the *Iriſh* in a manner out of all the habitable parts of it, and ſettled themſelves in all the plains and fertile place of the Country, eſpecially in the chief Towns, Ports, and upon the Sea-coaſts. And to ſuch a height of power and greatneſs had ſome of thoſe firſt adventuring Commanders raiſed themſelves here by reaſon of the addition of new titles of honour, the unlimited juriſdictions and priviledges enjoyed by them, the great rents they received, the numerous dependance they had, as that they began to look upon their own poſſeſſions as circumſcribed within too narrow limits, to entertain private animoſities againſt each other, to draw in the *Iriſh* (whom they had driven up into the mountains, and ever eſteemed as their moſt deadly enemies) to take part in their quarrels, being not aſhamed to uſe their aſſiſtance for the enlargement of their own private territories, as alſo to curb the too exhorbitant power, as they thought, of their oppoſites, though their own compatriots and jointenants in the poſſeſſion of that good land. (*n*) The *Iriſh* were very glad to entertain this occaſion, and did ever foment by their utmoſt power and artifice theſe unnatural broils and diſſentions among the *Engliſh*, whom they moſt mortally hated: For they living in a manner out of the reach, as well as out of the protection of all the *Engliſh* Laws and Government, were always accounted not only as aliens, but meer enemies; and beſides thoſe Septs of *Iriſh* which were termed the (*o*) *Quinque familiæ* (who notwithſtanding the great priviledges they enjoyed by the protection of the *Engliſh* Laws, ever ſhewed much averſeneſs both to the *Engliſh*, and their Laws,) No other perſons of any *Iriſh* families, from the very firſt conqueſt of *Ireland* in the time of *Henry* II. until the reign of King *Hen.* 8. were admitted into the condition of Subjects, or received any benefit by the *Engliſh* Laws, but ſuch as purchaſed Charters of Denization. It was no capital offence to kill any of them, the Law did neither protect their life, nor revenge their death. And ſo they living upon the mountains, in the boggs, and woods, though at firſt after ſome ſort divided from the *Engliſh*, did take all occaſions to declare their malice and hatred againſt the *Engliſh* colonies planted near unto them. 1641.

But howſoever the *Engliſh* were in all ages infeſted with their *Iriſh*

(*n*) The ancient malice of the *Iriſh* to the *Engliſh*. (*o*) *Quinque familiæ*. O *Neale* de *Ultonia*. O *Malahglin* de *Melin*. O *Connor* de *Conacia*. O *Brien* de *Thomondia*. *Mac-Morough* de *Lagenia*.

enemies,

1641. enemies, yet were they certainly in point of intereſt and univerſal poſſeſſion, owners and proprietors of the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*. They kept themſelves in entire bodies almoſt for the firſt hundred years after their arrival, not ſuffering the *Iriſh* to live promiſcuouſly among them, by which means they failed not to make good their footing, and by a high hand to keep them under in due obedience and ſubjection to the Crown of *England*. And when afterwards they began to be more careleſs of their habitation, and to ſuffer the *Iriſh* to intermingle with them, and their *Engliſh* followers to familiarize themſelves, into their beaſtly manners and cuſtoms (for prevention of which miſchief, (*p*) many ſevere Laws were enacted in after ages,) yet for ſome time they made good the rights and poſſeſſions they had gotten by conqueſt, and went on, endeavouring to civilize the people, introducing the *Engliſh* Laws, Language, Habit and Cuſtoms long uſed among them. Now although theſe, and all other courſes were taken by them, which might reclaim ſuch as ſeemed any ways inclinable to civility, or would take out Charters of Denization; yet ſuch ever was, and ſtill is the rough rebellious diſpoſition of the people, their hatred ſo implacable, their malice ſo unappeaſable to all the *Engliſh* Nation, as no Laws or gentle Conſtitutions would work, no publick benefits, temper, or any tract of time reconcile and draw them to any tolerable patience of cohabitation: But they have in all times continued to take all advantages as well ſince they were admitted into the condition of Subjects, as while they were eſteemed and treated as enemies, moſt perfidiouſly, to riſe up and imbrue their hands in the blood of their *Engliſh* Neighbours: So as *Ireland* hath long remained a true *Aceldama*, a field of blood, an unſatiated ſepulcher of the *Engliſh* Nation. (*q*) For what by reaſon of their own inteſtine broils, after they had (as ſoon they did, when they began to admit the intermixture of the *Iriſh*) moſt barbarouſly degenerate into all their manners and cuſtoms; and what by reaſon of the cruel hatred and miſchievous attempts of the *Iriſh* upon them: We ſhall not find that the *Engliſh*, from the firſt acceſs into *Ireland*, unto the beginning of the Reign of

(*p*) By the Statutes made at *Kilkenny* by *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, L. Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the time of *Edw.* III. Alliance by marriage, nurture of Infants, and goſſipred with the *Iriſh* are high treaſon. And if any *Engliſhman* ſhould uſe the *Iriſh* language, *Iriſh* name, or *Iriſh* apparel, his lands ſhould be ſeiſed on, and if he had no lands, he was to ſuffer impriſonment. *Archiv. in caſtro Dublin.* Statutes of *Kilkenny*. (*q*) In that ſpace of time which was between the 10 year of *Edw.* II. and the 30 year of *Edw.* III. all the old *Engliſh* colonies in *Munſter*, *Conaught* and *Ulſter*, and more than a third part of *Leinſter* became degenerated, and fell away from the Crown of *England*, ſo as the *Engliſh* Pale remained only under the obedience of the Law.

Queen

Queen *Elizabeth*, (a tract of time containing above 380 years) had any 1641.
ſettled peace or comfortable ſubſiſtence, but were in moſt perpetual combuſtions and troubles, ſo extremely harraſſed and over-worn with miſery, as they were not long likely to ſurvive the univerſal calamity that had overſpread the face of the whole Kingdom.

The Royal endeavours of Queen *Eliz.* for the reducing of *Ireland.*

Whereupon that bleſſed Queen, out of her pious intentions, and good affections to her people, applied her ſelf with great care to redreſs the diſorders of her Subjects in *Ireland*. And in the very beginning of her Reign, ſending over prudent and religious Governours, the work of Reformation was much advanced, by many wholſome Laws enacted againſt the barbarous Cuſtoms of the *Iriſh*; and the execution of Juſtice (which a long time continued within the limits of the Pale) began now to be extended into *Connaught*, *Ulſter*, and other remote Parts of the Land at ſome intervals of quiet times. The *Iriſh* Countries were reduced into Shires; and Sheriffs, with ſome other Miniſters of Juſtice placed in them: The pretended Captainſhips, and thoſe high powers uſurped by the *Iriſh*, together with all the extortions, and other fearful exorbitancies incident to them, were now put into ſuch a way of declination, as they could not long continue. Seignories and Poſſeſſions were ſettled in a due courſe of Inheritance; thoſe moſt deſtructive cuſtoms of (*a*) *Taneſtry* and *Gavelkind* began to be depreſſed; The two Preſidential Courts of *Munſter* and *Connaught* were then inſtituted, and ſpecial order taken that Free-ſchools might be erected in the ſeveral Dioceſſes throughout the Kingdom, for the better training up of Youth. But theſe acts, and other courſes tending to the advancement of true Religion, and Civility, were highly diſpleaſing, and moſt incompatible with the looſe humours of the Natives, who apprehended even the moſt gentle means of reformation, as ſharp corro-

(*a*) The Lands belonging to the *Iriſh*, were divided into ſeveral territories, and the Inhabitants in every *Iriſh* Country were divided into ſeveral Septs or Lineages—In every *Iriſh* Country, there was a Lord or Chieftain, anda Taniſt, which was his Succeſſor apparent. None could be choſen Taniſt, but one iſſued out of the chief Septs——The Seignory and Lands belonging to the chief Lord, did not deſcend from Father to Son, or upon default of Iſſue to him that was next of kin: But he that was moſt active, of greateſt power, and had moſt followers, always cauſed himſelf to be choſen Taniſt; and if he could not compaſs his deſires by gentle means, then he uſed open force and violence; and ſo being declared as it were heir apparent, came into poſſeſſion upon the death of the chief Lord——Now for the inferior Septs, they held their Lands at the will of the chief Lord, after a ſort; for after the death of every one of his Tenants which held any Land under him, he aſſembled the whole Septs, and having put all their poſſeſſions together in hotch potch, made a new partition among them, not aſſigning to the Son of him that died, the Land held by his Father, but altering every mans poſſeſſion at his own pleaſure, and according to his own diſcretion: He, upon the death of every inferiour Tenant, made a general remove, and ſo allotted to every one of the Sept ſuch part as he thought fit. And this was the *Iriſh* Gavelkind. Sir *John Davies* Rep. *fol.* 49.

1641. ding medicines; and thereupon pretending the burthen of the *Engliſh* government moſt inſupportable, began deſperately to ſtruggle for their liberty(*c*). Several plots were laid, ſome even by thoſe who were themſelves of the old *Engliſh* by extraction: Divers Rebellions and petty Revolts raiſed during Her Majeſty's moſt happy Reign: That of *Shan O Neal*, the Earl of *Deſmond*, Viſcount *Baltinglas*, *O Burke*, and ſeveral others at other times, were all ſet on foot for this very end, and all timely ſuppreſſed, partly by the power of the Queen's forces, partly by her gracious favour in receiving the Chieftains to mercy. And ſhe, as moſt unwearied with their never ceaſing provocations, ſtill went on with all gentle applications and lenitives, for the withdrawing of the people from their barbarous cuſtoms: As ſeveral of the great Lords who had been out in Rebellion, were reſtored to their lands and poſſeſſions, others ſhe ſuffered to enjoy their Commands in the Country, upon others ſhe beſtowed new titles of Honour. And being very unwilling to put the Kingdom of *England* to ſuch an exceſſive charge, as the full conqueſt of *Ireland* would moſt neceſſarily require; no fair means were left untried, that could miniſter any hopes of civilizing the people, or ſettling the preſent diſtractions of the Kingdom.

The *Iriſh* not to be reclaimed by gentle means.

But all was in vain; the matter then wrought upon was not ſuſceptible of any ſuch noble forms, thoſe ways were heterogeneal, and had no manner of influence upon the perverſe diſpoſitions of the *Iriſh*: the malignant impreſſions of irreligion and barbariſm, tranſmitted down, whether by infuſion from their anceſtors, or natural generation, had irrefragably ſtiffned their necks, and hardned their hearts againſt all the moſt powerful endeavours of Reformation: They continued one and the ſame in all their wicked cuſtoms and inclinations, without change in their affections or manners, having their eyes enflamed, their hearts enraged with malice and hatred againſt all of the *Engliſh* Nation, breathing forth nothing but their ruin, deſtruction, and utter extirpation.

Tyrone's rebellion.

And that they might at once diſ-impeſter themſelves of their unpleaſing company, and diſburthen the whole Kingdom of them and their poſterity, they ſtill entertained new thoughts, and had now brought unto perfection a deſign long meditated in their breaſts, whereby they reſolved at once clearly to reſcue and deliver themſelves from their ſubjection to the Crown of *England*. And this was that deſperate Rebellion raiſed almoſt through the whole Kingdom, by *Hugh* Earl of *Tyrone*, who after titles of Honour, received a command given by the Queen unto him both of Horſe and

(*c*) *Nonnulli ex claris in Lagenia familiis & plerique Anglica originis partim ex Romana religionis ſtudio, partim ex odio recentium Anglorum conſpirare cœperant: ad proregem, cum familia opprimendum, caſtrum Dublinienſe intercipiendum, & Angles in Hibernia ad unum è medio tollendos.* Camden. Eliz. Ann. 22.

Foot

Foot in her Pay, great proportions of Land, and other Princely favours conferred upon him; reſolving at once to cancel all thoſe Royal obligations of gratitude and fidelity, broke out and drew along with him moſt of all the *Iriſh* Septs and Families, together with many degenerate *Engliſh* throughout the Kingdom, into rebellion againſt his moſt gracious undoubted Sovereign. And theſe all, as being univerſally actuated with the venemous infuſions of his malevolent ſpirit, uniting their whole intereſts and forces into a firm conjuncture with him, raiſed all their dependants, and moved in ſeveral places according to the ſeveral orders and directions they received from him; and to fill up the full meaſure of his iniquity, he drew in foreign Nations at the ſame time with conſiderable forces to invade the land. 1641.

The ill effects of the ſubmiſſions of the *Iriſh*.

So as the Queen now found by woful experience, that *Ireland* was no longer to be dallied with, one Rebellion ſtill begot another, and this laſt was more dangerous than any of the former, it being more deeply rooted, more generally ſpread within the Kingdom, more powerfully fomented from without. She well diſcerned how much her great clemency had been abuſed in ſuffering former rebellions to be ſmothered over and looſely pieced up with protections and pardons; that the receiving of the *Iriſh* upon their ſubmiſſions, to avoid the charge of a War, did inevitably redouble the charge, and perpetuate the miſeries of war: Therefore ſhe now reſolved no longer to triſle with them, but vigorouſly to ſet to the work, and making choice of ſome of her moſt renowned *Engliſh* commanders, committed to their charge the conduct of an Army Royal, compleatly armed, and well paid, wherewith they began the proſecution of that Arch-traitour *Tyrone*, and with great ſucceſs in a ſhort time, though not without the expence of much *Engliſh* blood, and above a million of money, brought him upon his knees. And howſoever before this glorious work was fully accompliſhed, it pleaſed God to put a period to her days, yet lived ſhe long enough to ſee juſt vengeance brought down upon the head of that unnatural diſturber of the peace of the Kingdom, himſelf in a manner wholly deſerted, his Country moſt miſerably waſted, and a general deſolation and famine brought in, mightily conſuming what was left undevoured by the ſword.

The miſerable condition of *Ireland* when King *James* came to the Crown of *England*.

It is very eaſie to conjecture in what a moſt miſerable condition *Ireland* then was, the *Engliſh* Colonies being for the moſt part barbarouſly rooted out, the remainders degenerated into *Iriſh* manners and names, the very *Iriſh* themſelves moſt mightily waſted and deſtroyed by the late wars, and thereby much of the Kingdom depopulated, in every place large monuments of calamity and undiſcontinued troubles. King *James* of bleſſed memory found it, at his firſt acceſſion to the Crown of *England*, in this deplorable eſtate; whereupon he preſently took into his care the peaceable ſettlement of *Ireland*, and civilizing of the people: And conceiving that the powerful conjunction of *England* and *Scotland* would now over-aw the

1641. His lenity towards the *Irish* Rebels, and his endeavours for civil Reformation.

Irish, and contain them in their due obedience, he resolved not to take any advantage of those forfeitures and great confiscations which he was most justly intituled unto by *Tyrone's* Rebellion; but out of his Royal bounty and Princely magnificence, restored all the Natives to the entire possession of their own lands. A work most munificent in it self, and such as he had reason to believe would for the time to come perpetually oblige their obedience to the Crown of *England*. And in this state, the Kingdom continued under some indifferent terms of peace and tranquility, until the sixth year of his Reign: Then did the Earl of *Tyrone* take up new thoughts of rising in arms, and into his Rebellious design he easily drew the whole Province of *Ulster*, then entirely at his devotion; but his plot failed; and he finding himself not able to get together any considerable forces, he with the principal of his adherents, quitting the Kingdom, fled into *Spain*, leaving some busie incendiaries to foment those beginnings he had laid for a new Rebellion in *Ireland*, and promising speedily to return well attended with foreign succours to their aid: But by the great blessing of Almighty God upon the wise Counsels of that King, and the careful endeavours of his vigilant Ministers, the distempers occasioned by the noise of that commotion were soon allayed, and *Tyrone* never returning, the peace of the Kingdom much confirmed and settled. King *James* hereupon being now so justly provoked by the high ingratitude of those rebellious Traitours, caused their Persons to be Attainted, their Lands to be seized, and those six Counties within the Province of *Ulster* which belonged unto them, to be surveyed, and all (except some small parts of them reserved to gratifie the well affected Natives) to be distributed in certain proportions among *British* undertakers, who came over and settled themselves and many other *British* families in those parts: By this means the foundations of some good Towns, soon after encompassed with stone-walls, were presently laid, several Castles and Houses of strength built in several parts of the Country, great numbers of *British* Inhabitants there settled, to the great comfort and security of the whole Kingdom. And the same course was taken likewise for the better assurance of the peace in the Country, in the plantation of several parts of *Leinster*, where the *Irish* had made incursions, and violently expelled the old *English* out of their possessions. But howsoever the King was by due course of law justly intituled to all their whole Estates there; yet he was graciously pleased to take but one fourth part of their Lands, which was deliver'd over likewise into the hands of *British* Undertakers, who with great cost and much industry planted themselves so firmly, as they became of great security to the Country, and were a most special means to introduce civility in those parts: So as now the whole Kingdom began exceedingly to flourish in costly Buildings, and all manner of Improvements:

ments; the People to multiply and increaſe, and the very *Iriſh* ſeem'd to be much ſatisfied with the benefits of that peaceable Government, and general tranquility which they ſo happily enjoyed. 1641.

AND now of late ſuch was the great Indulgence of King *Charles* our Sovereign that now reigneth, to his Subjects of *Ireland*, as that in the Year 1640. upon their complaints, and a general Remonſtrance ſent over unto him from both Houſes of Parliament, then ſitting at *Dublin*, by a Committee of Four Temporal (*h*) Lords of the Upper Houſe, and Twelve Members of the Houſe of (*i*) Commons, with Inſtructions to repreſent the heavy preſſures they had for ſome time ſuffered under the Government of the Earl of *Strafford*. He took their grievances into his Royal Conſideration, deſcended ſo far to their ſatisfaction, as that he heard them himſelf, and made preſent proviſions for their redreſs: And upon the Deceaſe of Mr. *Wandsford*, Maſter of the Rolls in *Ireland*, and then Lord Deputy here under the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*, who ſtill continued Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom (though then accuſed of High-Treaſon, and impriſoned in the Tower of *London*, by the Parliament of *England*) his Majeſty ſent a Commiſſion of Government to the Lord *Dillon* of *Kilkenny-Weſt*, and Sir *William Parſons*, Knight and Baronet, Maſter of the Wards in *Ireland*, yet ſoon after finding the choice of the Lord *Dillon* to be much diſguſted by the Committee, he did at their motion cauſe the ſaid Commiſſion to be cancelled, and with their conſent and approbation, placed the Government upon Sir *William Parſons*, and Sir *John Borlace* Knight, Maſter of the Ordnance, both eſteemed Perſons of great integrity; and the Maſter of the Wards, by reaſon of his very long continued Imployment in the State, his particular Knowledge of the Kingdom, much valued and well beloved among the People. They took the Sword upon the 9th of *February*, 1640. and in the firſt place they applied themſelves with all manner of gentle Lenitives to mollify the ſharp Humours raiſed by the rigid paſſages in the former Government. They declared themſelves againſt all ſuch proceedings lately uſed, as they found any ways varying from the Common Law; they gave all due encouragement to the Parliament then ſitting, to endeavour the reaſonable eaſe and contentment of the People, freely aſſenting to all ſuch Acts as really

King *Charles's* great readineſs to redreſs the Grievances preſented unto him by the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners, 1640.

Sir *Will. Parſons* and Sir *John Borlace* made Lords Juſtices.

They apply themſelves to give Contentment to the People.

(*h*) *The Lords*, L. Viſcount *Gormanſtone*, L. Viſcount *Kilmaloc*, L. Viſcount *Caſtels*, L. Viſcount *Baltinglas*. (*i*) *Commons*, Leinſter, *Nic. Plunket*, *Digby*, *Richard Fitzharret*, *Nic. Barnewall*, Eſq; Munſter, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, *Jo. Welſh*, Sir *Dounogh Mac-Carty*. Conaught, *Robert Linch*, *Geffry Brown*, *Thomas Burk*. Ulſter, Sir *William Cole*, Sir *James Mongomery*.

tended

1641. sended to a legal Reformation: They betook themselves wholly to the advice of the Council, and caused all matters as well of the Crown, as popular Interest, to be handled in his Majesty's Courts of Justice, no ways admitting the late Exorbitances (so bitterly decried in Parliament) of Paper-Petitions, or Bills in Civil Causes, to be brought before them at the Council-Board, or before any other by their Authority: They, by his Majesty's gracious Directions, gave way to the Parliament to abate the Subsidies (there given in the Earl of *Strafford*'s Time, and then in Collection) from 40000 *l.* each Subsidy, to 12000 *l.* a-piece, so low did they think fit to reduce them: And they were further content (because they saw his Majesty most absolutely resolved to give the *Irish* Agents full satisfaction) to draw up two Acts to be passed in the Parliament, most impetuously desired by the Natives: The one was the Act of *Limitations*, which unquestionably settled all Estates of Land in the Kingdom, quietly enjoyed without claim or interruption for the space of sixty Years immediately preceeding: The other was for the *relinquishment* of the Right and Title which his Majesty had to the four Counties in *Conaught*, legally found for him by several Inquisitions taken in them, and ready to be disposed of, upon a due Survey, to *British* Undertakers; as also to some Territories of good extent in *Munster*, and the County of *Clare*, upon the same Title.

Thus was the present Government most sweetly tempered, and carried on with great lenity and moderation; the Lords Justices and Council wholly departing from the rigour of former courses, did gently unbend themselves into a happy and just compliance with the seasonable desires of the people. And his Majesty, that he might further testify his own settled resolution for the continuation thereof with the same tender hand over them, having first given full satisfaction in all things to the said Committee of Parliament, still attending their dispatch, did about the latter end of *May*, 1641. declare *Robert*, Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of *Ireland*. He was heir to Sir *Philip Sidney* his Uncle, as well as to Sir *Henry Sidney*, his Grandfather, who with great honour and much integrity long contanued chief Governour of *Ireland* during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and being a Person of excellent abilities by nature, great acquisitions from his own private industry and publick imployment abroad, of exceeding great temper and moderation, was never engaged in any publick pressures of the Common-wealth, and therefore most likely to prove a just and gentle Governour, most pleasing and acceptable to the people.

The Earl of *Leicester* declared Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, *May* 1641.

More-

Moreover the Romish Catholicks now privately enjoyed the free exercise of their Religion throughout the whole Kingdom, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. They had by the extraordinary indulgence of the late Governours, their titular Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Vicars general, Provincial Consistories, Deans, Abbots, Priors, Nuns, who all lived freely, though somewhat covertly among them, and without control, exercised a voluntary jurisdiction over them: they had their Friers, Jesuits and Fryars, who were of late Years exceedingly multiplied, and in great numbers returned out of *Spain*, *Italy*, and other foreign parts, whence the Children of the Natives of *Ireland* that way devoted, were sent usually to receive their Education. And these without any manner of restraint, had quietly settled themselves in all the chief Towns, Villages, Noblemen and private Gentlemens houses throughout the Kingdom. So as the private exercise of all their religious Rites and Ceremonies was freely enjoyed by them, without any manner of disturbance, and not any of the Laws put in execution, whereby heavy penalties were to be inflicted upon transgressors in that kind. 1641.

The Papists permitted privately to enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion.

And for the ancient animosities and hatred which the *Irish* had been ever observed to bear unto the *English* Nation, they seemed now to be quite deposited and buried in a firm conglutination of their affections and national obligations passed between them. The two Nations had now lived together forty Years in peace, with great security and comfort, which had in a manner consolidated them into one body, knit and compacted together with all those bonds and ligatures of friendship, alliance, and consanguinity, as might make up a constant and perpetual Union betwixt them. Their intermarriages were frequent, gossipred, fostering relations of much dearness among the *Irish*, together with all others of tenancy, neighbourhood, and service interchangeably passed among them. Nay, they had made as it were a kind of mutual transmigration into each others manners, many *English* being strangely degenerated into *Irish* affections and customs; and many *Irish*, especially of the better sort, having taken up the *English* language, apparel, and decent manner of living in their private houses. And so great an advantage did they find by the *English* commerce and cohabitation in the profits and high improvements of their Lands and native Commodities, so incomparably beyond what they ever formerly enjoyed, or could expect to raise by their own proper industry, as Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and many others of the prime Leaders in this Rebellion, had not long before turned their *Irish* Tenants off their Lands, as some of them said to me (when I enquired the reason of their so doing) even to starve upon the Mountains, while they took in *English*, who were able to give them much greater rents, and more certainly pay the same. A matter that was much taken notice of, and esteemed by many,

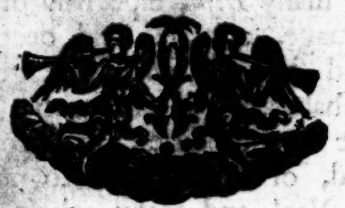
The good agreement between the *Irish* and *English* in all parts of the Kingdom.

1641. many, as moſt highly conducing to the ſecurity of the *Engliſh* Intereſts, and Plantation among them. So as all theſe circumſtances duly weighed, together with the removal of the late obſtructions, the great increaſe of Trade, and many other evident Symptoms of a flouriſhing Common-wealth, it was believed even by the wiſeſt and beſt experienced in the affairs of *Ireland*, that the peace and tranquility of the Kingdom was now fully ſettled, and moſt likely in all humane probability to continue, without any conſiderable interruption, in the preſent felicity and great proſperity it now enjoyed under the government of his Majeſty that now reigneth.

The Parliament adjourned, *Aug.* 1641.

In *Auguſt* 1641. the Lords Juſtices and Council finding the Popiſh party in both Houſes of Parliament to be grown to ſo great a height, as was ſcarcely compatible with the preſent Government, were very deſirous to have an Adjournment made for three Months, which was readily aſſented unto, and performed by the Members of both Houſes. And this was done not many days before the return of the Committee formerly mentioned, out of *England*: They arrived at *Dublin* about the latter end of *Auguſt*, and preſently after their return they applied themſelves to the Lords Juſtices and Council, deſiring to have all thoſe Acts and other Graces granted by his Majeſty, made known unto the People by Proclamations, to be ſent down into ſeveral parts of the Country; which while the Lords Juſtices took into their conſideration, and ſat daily compoſing of Acts to be paſſed the next Seſſion of Parliament, for the benefit of his Majeſty, and the good of his Subjects, they ſeemed with great contentment and ſatisfaction to retire into the Country to their ſeveral habitations, that they might there refreſh themſelves in the mean ſeaſon.

The *Iriſh* Commiſſioners return out of *England*, and land at *Dublin*.



The

The Diſcovery of the Conſpiracy of the Iriſh, *to ſeize upon the Caſtle and City of* DUBLIN; *and their general Riſing at the ſame time, in all the Northern Parts of this Kingdom.* 1641.

SUCH was now the State and preſent Condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, ſuch the great Serenity through the gentle and happy tranſaction of the publick Affairs here; as that the late *Iriſh* Army raiſed for the Invaſion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, being peaceably disbanded, their Arms and Munition, by the ſingular care of the Lords Juſtices and Council brought into his Majeſty's Stores within the City of *Dublin*; there was no manner of warlike preparations, no reliques of any kind of diſorders proceeding from the late Levies, nor indeed any noiſe of War remaining within theſe Coaſts. Now while in this great calm the *Britiſh* continued in a moſt deep ſecurity, under the aſſurance of the bleſſed peace of this Land; while all things were carried on with great Temper and Moderation in the preſent Government, and all Men ſat pleaſantly enjoying the comfortable fruits of their own labours, without the leaſt thoughts or apprehenſion of either Tumults or other Troubles, the differences between his Majeſty and his Subjects of *Scotland* being about this time fairly compoſed and ſettled: There broke out upon the 23d of *October*, 1641. a moſt deſperate and formidable Rebellion, and univerſal Defection and general Revolt; wherein not only all the meer *Iriſh*, but almoſt all the old *Engliſh* that adhered to the Church of *Rome*, were totally involved. And becauſe it will be neceſſary to leave ſome Monuments hereof to Poſterity, I ſhall obſerve the beginnings and firſt motions, as well as trace out the progreſs, of a Rebellion ſo execrable in it ſelf, ſo odious to God and the whole World, as no Age, no Kingdom, no People can parallel the horrid Cruelties, the abominable Murders, that have been without number, as well as without Mercy, committed upon the *Britiſh* Inhabitants throughout the Land, of what Sex or Age, of what Quality or Condition ſoever they were.

The happy Condition of *Ireland* at the time of the breaking out of the Rebellion, *October* 23. 1641.

The firſt Plot for the Rebellion carried on with ſo great Secrecy, as none of the *Engliſh* had notice of it before it was ready to be put in execution.

And firſt I muſt needs ſay, howſoever I have obſerved in the nature of the *Iriſh* ſuch a kind of dull and deep reſervedneſs, as makes them with much ſilence and ſecrecy to carry on their buſineſs: Yet I cannot but conſider with great admiration how this miſchievous Plot which was to be ſo generally at the ſame time, and at ſo many ſeveral places acted, and therefore neceſſarily known to ſo many ſeveral Perſons, ſhould without any noiſe be brought to ſuch maturity, as to arrive at the very point of Execution without any notice or intimation given to any two of that huge multitude of Perſons who were generally deſigned (as moſt of them

1641. did) to periſh in it. For beſides the uncertain preſumptions that Sir *Will. Cole* had of a commotion to be raiſed by the *Iriſh* in the Province of *Ulſter* about a fortnight before this Rebellion broke openly out, and ſome certain intelligence which he received of the ſame two days before the *Iriſh* roſe; I could never hear that any *Engliſh* Man received any certain notice of this Conſpiracy, before the very Evening that it was to be generally put in Execution. It is true, Sir *William Cole* upon the very firſt apprehenſions of ſomething that he conceived to be hatching among the *Iriſh*, did write a Letter to the Lords Juſtices and Council, dated the 11th of *Octob.* 1641, wherein he gave them notice of the great reſort made to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, in the County of *Tyron*, as alſo to the houſe of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, and that by ſeveral ſuſpected perſons, fit inſtruments for miſchief. As alſo that the ſaid Lord *Mac-Guire* had of late made ſeveral journies into the Pale, and other places, and had ſpent his time much in writing Letters, and ſending diſpatches abroad. Theſe Letters were received by the Lords Juſtices and Council, and they in anſwer to them required him to be very vigilant and induſtrious to find out what ſhould be the occaſion of thoſe ſeveral meetings, and ſpeedily to advertiſe them thereof, or of any other particular that he conceived might tend to the publick Service of the State. And for that which was revealed to Sir *William Cole* upon the 21ſt of *Octob.* the ſame Month, by *John Cormacke*, and *Flarty Mac-Hugh*, from *Brian Mac-Gohanaught*, *Mac-Guire*, touching the reſolutions of the *Iriſh*, to ſeize upon his Majeſty's Caſtle and City of *Dublin*, to Murder the Lords Juſtices and Council of *Ireland*, and the reſt of the Proteſtants there, and to ſeize upon all the Caſtles, Forts, Sea-ports, and Holds that were in poſſeſſion of the Proteſtants within the Kingdom of *Ireland*, I find by the Examination of *John Cormacke*, taken upon oath at *Weſtminſter*, *Nov.* 18, 1644, That the ſaid Sir *William Cole* did diſpatch Letters to the Lords Juſtices and Council the ſame day to give them notice thereof. But I can alſo teſtify that thoſe Letters (whether they were intercepted, or that they otherways miſcarried, I cannot ſay) came not unto their hands; as alſo that they had not any certain notice of this general conſpiracy of the *Iriſh*, until the 22d. of *October*, in the very evening before the day appointed for the ſurprize of the Caſtle and City of *Dublin*. Then the Conſpirators being many of them arrived within the City, and having that day met at the *Lion* Tavern near *Copper-Alley*, and there turning the Drawer out of the room, ordered their affairs together, drunk healths upon their knees to the happy ſucceſs of the next mornings work: *Owen O Conally* a Gentleman of a meer *Iriſh* family, but one that had long lived among the *Engliſh*, and been trained up in the true Proteſtant Religion, came unto the Lord Juſtice *Parſons* about nine of the clock that evening, and made him

Owen O Conally diſcovers the Conſpiracy of the *Iriſh* to the Lord *Parſons* the very Evening before it was to be executed.

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a broken relation of a great conſpiracy for the ſeizing upon His Majeſty's Caſtle of *Dublin*: He gave him the names of ſome of the chief Conſpirators, aſſured him they were come up expreſly to the Town for the ſame purpoſe, and that next morning they would undoubtedly attempt, and ſurely effect it, if their deſign were not ſpeedily prevented, and that he had underſtood all this from *Hugh Mac-Mahon*, one of the chief conſpirators, who was then in the Town, and came up but the very ſame afternoon for the execution of the plot; and with whom indeed he had been drinking ſomewhat liberally, and as the truth is, did then make ſuch a broken relation of a matter that ſeemed ſo incredible in it ſelf, as that his Lordſhip gave very little belief to it at firſt, in regard it came from an obſcure perſon, and one as he conceived ſomewhat diſtempered at that time. But howſoever the Lord *Parſons* gave him order to go again to *Mac-Mahon*, and get out of him as much certainty of the Plot, with as many particular circumſtances, as he could, ſtraitly charging him to return back unto him the ſame evening. And in the mean time, having by ſtrict commands given to the Conſtable of the Caſtle, taken order to have the gates thereof well guarded, as alſo with the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City to have ſtrong watches ſet upon all the parts of the ſame, and to make ſtay of all ſtrangers, he went privately about ten of the clock that night to the Lord *Borlace*'s houſe without the Town, and there acquainted him with what he underſtood from *Conally*. They ſent for ſuch of the Council as they knew then to be in the Town. But there came only unto them that night Sir *Thomas Rotheram*, and Sir *Robert Meredith*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, with theſe they fell into conſultation what was fit to be done, attending the return of *Conally*. And finding that he ſtaid ſomewhat longer then the time prefixed, they ſent out in ſearch after him, and found him ſeized on by the watch, and ſo he had been carried away to priſon, and the diſcovery that night diſappointed, had not one of the Lord *Parſon*'s Servants expreſly ſent amongſt others to walk the ſtreets, and attend the motion of the ſaid *Conally*, come in and reſcued him, and brought him to the Lord *Borlace*'s houſe. *Conally* having ſomewhat recovered himſelf from his diſtemper, occaſioned partly, as he ſaid himſelf, by the horror of the Plot revealed to him, partly by his too liberal drinking with *Mac-Mahon*, that he might the more eaſily get away from him (he beginning much to ſuſpect and fear his diſcovering of the plot) confirmed what he had formerly related, and added theſe farther particulars ſet down in his Examination, as followeth.

1641.

The Examination of *Owen O Conally* Gentleman, taken before us whoſe Names enſue, *Octob.* 22. 1641.

1641. WHO *being duly ſworn, and examined, ſaith, That he being at* Monimore, *in the County of* London-Derry *on* Tueſday *laſt, he received a Letter from Colonel* Hugh Oge Mac-Mahon, *deſiring him to come to* Conaught *in the County of* Monaghan, *and to be with him on* Wedneſday *and* Thurſday *laſt, whereupon he, this Examinate came to* Conaught *on* Wedneſday *night laſt, and finding the ſaid* Hugh *come to* Dublin, *followed him hither: He came hither about ſix of the clock this evening, and forthwith went to the lodging of the ſaid* Hugh, *to the houſe near the Boat in* Oxmantown, *and there he found the ſaid* Hugh, *and came with the ſaid* Hugh *into the Town, near the Pillory, to the lodging of the Lord* Mac-Guire, *where they found not the Lord within, and there they drank a cup of Beer, and then went back again to the ſaid* Hugh *his lodging. He ſaith, that at the Lord* Mac-Guire *his lodging, the ſaid* Hugh *told him that there were, and would be this night great numbers of Noblemen, and Gentlemen of the* Iriſh *Papiſts from all the parts of the Kingdom in this Town, who with himſelf had determined to take the Caſtle of* Dublin, *and poſſeſs themſelves of all his Majeſty's Ammunition there to morrow morning, being* Saturday, *and that they intended firſt to batter the Chimnies of the ſaid Town, and if the City would not yield, then to batter down the houſes, and ſo to cut off all the Proteſtants that would not joyn with them. He further ſaith, that the ſaid* Hugh *then told him, that the* Iriſh *had prepared men in all parts of the Kingdom, to deſtroy all the* Engliſh *inhabiting there to morrow morning by ten of the clock, and that in all the Sea-ports, and other Towns in the Kingdom, all the Proteſtants ſhould be killed this night, and that all the Poſts that could be, could not prevent it: And further ſaith, that he moved the ſaid* Hugh *to forbear executing of that buſineſs, and to diſcover it to the State, for the ſaving of his own eſtate; who ſaid he could not help it, but ſaid, that they did owe their Allegiance to the King, and would pay him all his Rights, but that they did this for the Tyrannical Government was over them, and to imitate* Scotland, *who got a priviledge by that courſe. And he further ſaith, that when he was with the ſaid* Hugh *in his lodging the ſecond time, the ſaid* Hugh *ſwore that he ſhould not go out of his Lodging that Night, but told him that he ſhould go with him the next morning to the Caſtle, and ſaid, if this matter were diſcovered, ſome body ſhould die for it, whereupon this Examinate feigned ſome neceſſity for his eaſement, went down out of the Chamber, and left his Sword in pawn, and the ſaid* Hugh *ſent his man down with him, and when this Examinate came down into the Yard, and finding*

ing an opportunity, he, this Examinate leaped over a Wall, and two Pales, and ſo came to the Lord Juſtice Parſons. 1641.

Octob. 22. 1641.

William Parſons,
Tho. Rotheram,
Rob. Meredith. *Owen O Conally.*

HEreupon the Lords took preſent order to have a Watch privately ſet upon the lodging of *Mac-Mahon*, as alſo upon the Lord *Mac-Guire*, and ſo they ſate up all that night in *conſultation*, having far ſtronger *preſumptions* upon this latter *examination* taken, than any ways at firſt they could entertain. The Lords Juſtices upon a further conſideration (there being come unto them early next morning ſeveral other of the Privy Council) ſent before day, and ſeized upon *Mac-Mahon*, then with his Servant in his own lodging; they at firſt made ſome little reſiſtance with their drawn ſwords, but finding themſelves over-maſtered, preſently yielded, and ſo they were brought before the Lords Juſtices and Council ſtill ſitting at the Lord *Borlace*'s Houſe: Where upon examination he did without much difficulty confeſs the Plot reſolutely, telling them, That on that very day all the Forts and ſtrong Places in *Ireland* would be taken. That he with the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Hugh Birn*, Capt. *Brian O Neal*, and ſeveral other *Iriſh* Gentlemen, were come up expreſly to ſurprize the Caſtle of *Dublin*. That twenty Men out of each County in the Kingdom were to be here to joyn with them. That all the Lords and Gentlemen in the Kingdom that were Papiſts were engaged in this Plot. That what was that day to be done in other parts of the Country, was ſo far advanced by that time, as it was impoſſible for the wit of Man to prevent it; and withal told them, That it was true, they had him in their power, and might uſe him how they pleaſed, but he was ſure he ſhould be revenged.

Mac-Mahon taken.

His Confeſſion.

By this time the noiſe of this Conſpiracy began to be confuſedly ſpread abroad about the Town, and advertiſement was brought unto the Lords Juſtices then in Council, that great numbers of ſtrangers had been obſerved to come the laſt Evening, and in the Morning early unto the Town, and moſt of them to ſet up their horſes in the Suburbs: Whereupon the Lords having in the firſt place taken order for the apprehenſion of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, removed themſelves for their better ſecurity unto the Caſtle, where the body of the Council then in Town attended them at the ordinary place of their meeting there. In the firſt place they cauſed a preſent ſearch to be made for all ſuch Horſes belonging to ſtrangers as were brought into any Inns, and by that means they diſcovered

The Lord *Mac-Guire* with ſeveral other of the Conſpirators ſeized.

1641. vered ſome of the owners, who were preſently ſeized upon and committed to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, having already delivered over to the cuſtody of the Conſtable there, the Lord *Mac-Guire*, and *Hugh Mac-Mahon*. *Hugh Birn*, and *Roger Moor*, chief of the Conſpirators, eſcaped over the River in the night; Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, with ſeveral others found means likewiſe to paſs away undiſcerned; and of the great numbers which came up out of ſeveral Counties to be Actors in taking of the Caſtle and City of *Dublin*, there were not, through the ſlack purſuit and great negligence of the inhabitants, above thirty ſeized upon, moſt of them Servants and inconſiderable Perſons, thoſe of Quality having ſo many good Friends within the Town, as they had very ill luck if apprehended. The ſame day before the Lords roſe from Council, they took order for this *Proclamation* which here followeth to be made and publiſhed.

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

W. Parſons. John Borlace.

THeſe are to make known and publiſh to all His Majeſty's good Subjects in this Kingdom of Ireland, *that there is a diſcovery made by Us the Lords Juſtices and Council, of a moſt diſloyal and deteſtable Conſpiracy intended by ſome evil-affected* Iriſh *Papiſts, againſt the Lives of Us the Lords Juſtices and Council, and many other of His Majeſty's faithful Subjects, univerſally throughout this Kingdom, and for the ſeizing not only of His Majeſty's Caſtle of* Dublin, *His Majeſty's principal Fort here, but alſo of the other Fortifications in the Kingdom.* And *ſeeing by the great goodneſs and abundant mercy of Almighty God to His Majeſty, and this State and Kingdom, thoſe wicked Conſpiracies are brought to light, and ſome of the Conſpirators committed to the Caſtle of* Dublin, *by Us, by His Majeſty's Authority, ſo as thoſe wicked and damnable Plots are now diſappointed in the chief parts thereof: We therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publickly known, for the comfort of His Majeſty's good and loyal Subjects in all parts of the Kingdom, but alſo hereby to require them, that they do with all confidence and chearfulneſs betake themſelves to their own defence, and ſtand upon their guard, ſo to render the more ſafety to themſelves, and all the Kingdom beſides, and that they advertiſe Us with all poſſible ſpeed of all Occurrents, which may concern the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, and now to ſhew fully that Faith and Loyalty, which they have always ſhown for the publick Services of the Crown and Kingdom, which We will value to His Majeſty accordingly, and a ſpecial memory thereof will be retained for their advantage in due time. And We require that great care be taken that no Levies of Men be made for foreign Service, nor any Men ſuffered to march upon any ſuch*

ſuch pretence. Given at His Majeſty's Caſtle of *Dublin*, the 23d of *Octo-* 1641.
ber, 1641.

R. Dillon, Ro. Digby, Ad. Loftus. J. Temple, Tho. Rotheram, Fr. Willoughby. J. Ware, Ro. Meredith.

God Save the King.

Imprinted at DUBLIN, *by the Society of Stationers.*

This Proclamation was preſently printed, and ſeveral Copies ſent down by expreſs Meſſengers unto the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in ſeveral parts of the Country, where they cauſed them to be divers ways diſperſed, hoping that when the timely diſcovery of this Conſpiracy, and the happy prevention in a great part, ſhould fully appear abroad, it would prove ſo great a diſcouragement to ſuch of the Conſpirators as had not yet openly declared themſelves, as that they would thereby be contained within the bounds of their Duty and Obedience to his Majeſty. The ſame Night the Lord *Blaney* arrived with the News of the ſurpriſal of his Houſe, his Wife, and his Children, by the Rebels of the County of *Monaghan:* Next day came Advertiſements from Sir *Arthur Tyringham*, of the taking of *Newry*; and then the ſad relations of burning, ſpoiling, and horrible Murders committed within the Province of *Ulſter*, began to multiply, and ſeveral Perſons every day and almoſt every hour in every day for a good while after, arrived like *Job*'s Meſſengers, telling the ſtory of their own Sufferings, and the fearful Maſſacres of the poor *Engliſh* in thoſe parts from whence they came. Theſe things wrought ſuch a general Conſternation and Aſtoniſhment in the Minds of all the *Engliſh* and other Inhabitants well-affected within the City, as they were much affrighted therewith, expecting every hour when the *Iriſh* already crept into the Town, joining with the Papiſts there, ſhould make the City a Theatre whereon to act the ſecond part of that Tragedy moſt bloodily begun in the Northern Parts by them.

The *Iriſh* riſe firſt in the Province of *Ulſter*, and there burn, ſpoil, and deſtroy the *Engliſh*.

And it added moſt extreamly to theſe preſent Fears, that ſeveral unhappy Rumours (the great Tormenters of the weaker Sex) were vainly ſpread abroad of the ſudden approach of great numbers of Rebels out of the adjacent *Iriſh* Counties unto the City: Some would make us believe that they were diſcerned at ſome diſtance already marching down from the Mountain ſide within view of the Town; a report ſo credibly delivered by thoſe who pretended to be Eye-witneſſes, that it drew ſome

Falſe rumours ſpread of the Rebels approach to the City of *Dublin*.

of

1641. of the State up to the Plat-form of the Caſtle to behold thoſe who were yet inviſible, though there were there that would not be perſwaded but that they ſaw the very motions of the Men as they marched down the Mountains. It was at the ſame time alſo generally noiſed abroad, that there were 10000 of the Rebels gotten together in a Body at the Hill of *Tarah*, a place not above ſixteen Miles diſtant from the Town, and that they intended without any further delay to march on and preſently ſurpriſe the ſame. Theſe falſe Rumours being unluckily ſpread, and by ſome fomented out of evil ends, exceedingly increaſed the preſent diſtractions of the People, and raiſed ſuch a panick fear among them, as about ſeven of the Clock at Night, the Lords Juſtices and ſome of the Council being then in the Council-Chamber within the Caſtle, there came in to them a Gentleman of good quality, who having not without much difficulty, as he pretended, recovered the Gate of the Caſtle, cauſed the Warders then attending to draw up the Bridge, aſſuring them that the Rebels gathered together in great numbers, had already poſſeſſed themſelves of a good part of the Town, and came now with great fury marching down the Street that leads directly towards the Caſtle-Gate. But this fear was quickly removed by Sir *Francis Willoughby*, who being that day made Governour of the Caſtle, cauſed the Draw-Bridge to be let down, and ſo found this to be a falſe Alarm occaſioned by ſome miſtake fallen among the People, who continued waving up and down the Streets, prepoſſeſſed with ſtrange fears, and ſome of them upon ſome ſlender Accident drawing their Swords; others that knew not the cauſe thought fit to follow the Example, and ſo came to appear to this Gentleman who was none of their Company, as ſo many Rebels coming up to enter the Caſtle.

The Lords Juſtices and Council conſult what courſe to take for the ſuppreſſing this Rebellion.

Theſe were the firſt beginnings of our Sorrows, ill ſymptoms, and ſad preparatives to the enſuing Evils: Therefore the Lords finding by ſeveral Intelligences, though ſome purpoſely framed, that the power of the Rebels was ſuddenly ſwollen up to ſo great a bulk, and likely ſo faſt to multiply and increaſe upon them, thought it high time to conſider of the remedies, and in what condition they were to oppoſe, ſince they could not prevent ſo eminent a danger. The Rebellion now appeared without all manner of queſtion to be generally raiſed in all parts of the North, and like a Torrent to come down moſt impetuouſly upon them: Beſides, it was no ways improbable that all other parts of the Kingdom would take fire and follow their Example; they had the Teſtimony of *Mac-Mahon* poſitive therein. The firſt thing therefore which they took into conſideration, was, how they were provided of Money, Arms, and Munition; then, what Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horſe of the old Army they were able to draw preſently together; as alſo what numbers of

new

new Men they could ſuddenly raiſe. For the firſt, they had this ſhort ac- 1641.
compt from the Vice-Treaſurer, That there was no Money in the Ex-
chequer. And certainly it was a main Policy in the firſt Contrivers of this Rebellion, to plot the breaking of it out at ſuch a time when the Exchequer ſhould be empty, and all the King's Revenues both certain and caſual, due for that half Year, as well as the Rents of all the *Britiſh* throughout the Kingdom, ſhould be found ready either in the Tenants or Collectors hands in the Country, and ſo neceſſarily fall under their power, as they did to their great advantage. For Arms and Munition, the Stores were indifferently well furniſhed at this time: Beſides ſeveral Pieces of Artillery of divers ſorts, moſt of them fitted for preſent ſervice; there were Arms for near 10000 Men, 1500 Barrels of Powder, with Match and Lead proportionable, laid in by the Earl of *Strafford*, late Lord Lieutenant, not long before, and deſigned another way, but ſo opportunely reſerved for this ſervice, as the good Providence of God did exceedingly appear therein, but principally in the miraculous Preſervation of them out of the hands of the Rebels, who made the ſurpriſal of theſe Proviſions, then all within the Caſtle of *Dublin* (the common Store-Houſe of them) a main part of their deſign. The old ſtanding Army, as appears by this Liſt, conſiſted only of 41 Companies of Foot, and 14 Troops of Horſe.

No Money in the Exchequer.

1641. A Liſt of His Majeſty's Army in *Ireland*, 1641. Before the Rebellion began.

Foot Companies, conſiſting of ſix Officers, *viz.* Captain, Lieutenant, Enſign, Chyrurgeon, Serjeant and Drum, and forty four Soldiers each Company.

LORD Lieutenant's Guard — 44
Sir *Robert Farrar* — 44
Sir *Thomas Wharton* — 44
Sir *George Saint-George* — 44
Capt. *Francis Butler* — 44
Sir *William Saint-Leguer* — 44
Lord *Docwra* — 44
Lord *Blany* — 44
Sir *Robert Steward* — 44
Lord Viſcount *Rannelagh* — 44
Lord Viſcount *Baltinglas* — 44
Sir *John Vaughan* — 44
Capt. *George Blount* — 44
Sir *Henry Tichburn* — 44
Sir *Frederick Hamilton* — 44
Lord *Caſtle-Stewart* — 44
Sir *Lorenzo Cary* — 44
Capt. *Chicheſter Forteſcue* — 44
Sir *John Gifford* — 44
Capt. *John Barry* — 44
Sir *John Nettervile* — 44

Capt. *Thomas Rockly* — 44
Sir *Arthur Tyringham* — 44
Capt. *Philip Wenman* — 44
Capt. *Charles Price* — 44
Sir *Charles Coot* — 44
Capt. *Thomas Games* — 44
Sir *Francis Willoughby* — 44
Sir *John Borlace* — 44
Capt. *Robert Baily* — 44
Sir *Arthur Loftus* — 44
Capt. *William Billingſly* — 44
The Lord *Eſmond* — 44
The Lord *Lambert* — 44
Sir *George Hamilton* — 44
Lord *Folliot* — 44
Sir *William Stewart* — 44
Capt. *Robert Biron* — 44
Sir *John Sherlock* — 44
The Earl of *Clanricard* — 44
Capt. *John Ogle* — 44

Theſe Companies contain Officers — 246
Soldiers — 2051
In all — 2297.

Horſe-Troops.

THE Earl of *Leiceſter* Lord Lieutenant General, his Troop conſiſting of Captain, Lieutenant, Cornet, and Horſe-Men — 180
The Earl of *Ormond*'s Troop, like Officers and Horſe-Men — 107
The Earl of *Strafford*'s Troop, like Officers and Horſe-Men — 58
Lord *Dillon*'s Troop, like Officers and Horſe-Men — 58
Lord *Wilmot*'s Troop, like Officers and Horſe-Men — 58

Sir *William Saint-Leguer*, Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, the like — 58
Lord Viſcount *Moor*, the like — 58
Lord Viſcount *Grandiſon*, the like — 58
Lord Viſcount *Cromwel* of *Lecale*, the like — 58
Capt. *Arthur Chicheſter*, the like — 58
Sir *George Wentworth*, the like — 58
Sir *John Borlace*, the like — 58
Lord Viſcount *Conway*, the like — 58
Sir *Adam Loftus*, the like — 58

Theſe Troops contain Officers — 42
Horſe-Men — 901
In all — 943.

The

These were ſo ſtrangely diſperſed moſt of them into the remote parts of the Kingdom, for the guard of ſeveral Forts and other places, as it fell out to be in a manner moſt impoſſible to draw a conſiderable number of them together in any time, either for the defence of the City, or the making head againſt the Rebels in the North: And beſides it was much to be ſuſpected, the Companies lying ſeverally ſo remote, and ill furniſhed with Munition, could with little ſafety march to *Dublin*. Yet the Lords ſent Patents preſently away to require ſeveral Companies of Foot, and ſome Troops of Horſe preſently to riſe and march up from their ſeveral Garriſons towards the City of *Dublin*. And now it was held high time to give an account unto his Majeſty then at *Edinburgh*, in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and to the Lord Lieutenant continuing ſtill at *London* (the Parliament ſtill ſitting there) of the breaking out of this Rebellion, the ill condition of the Kingdom, the wants of the State, and the Supplies abſolutely neceſſary for their preſent defence and preſervation. And becauſe the Letter to the Lord Lieutenant doth moſt clearly repreſent ſeveral particulars which may much conduce to the knowledge of the Affairs, I have thought fit to inſert a true Copy of it, which here followeth. 1641.

Letters from the Lords Juſtices and Council to the Lord Lieutenant.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

ON Friday *the Two and Twentieth of this Month, after Nine of the Clock at Night, this Bearer,* Owen Conally, *Servant to Sir* John Clotworthy, *Knight, came to me the Lord Juſtice* Parſons *to my Houſe, and in great Secrecy (as indeed the cauſe did require). diſcovered unto me a moſt wicked and damnable Conſpiracy, plotted, contrived, and intended to be alſo acted by ſome evil-affected* Iriſh *Papiſts here. The Plot was on the then next Morning,* Saturday *the 23d of* October, *being St.* Ignatius's *day, about Nine of the Clock to ſurprize his Majeſty's Caſtle of* Dublin, *his Majeſty's chief Strength of this Kingdom, wherein alſo is the principal Magazine of his Majeſty's Arms and Munition; and it was agreed it ſeems among them, that at the ſame hour all other his Majeſty's Forts and Magazines of Arms and Munition in this Kingdom, ſhould be ſurprized by others of thoſe Conſpirators; and further, that all the Proteſtants and* Engliſh *throughout the whole Kingdom, that would not join with them, ſhould be cut off, and ſo thoſe Papiſts ſhould then become poſſeſſed of the Government and Kingdom at the ſame inſtant.*

As ſoon as I had that Intelligence, I then immediately repaired to the Lord Juſtice Borlace, *and thereupon We inſtantly aſſembled the Council, and having ſate all that Night, as alſo all the next Day, the 23d of* October, *in regard of the ſhort time left us for the Conſultation of ſo great and weighty a matter, although it was not poſſible for us upon ſo few hours warning to prevent thoſe other great miſchiefs which were to be acted, even at that ſame*

1641. *hour, and at ſo great a diſtance as in all the other parts of the Kingdom. Yet ſuch was our induſtry therein, having cauſed the Caſtle to be that Night ſtrengthned with armed Men, and the City guarded, as the wicked Counſels of thoſe evil Perſons, by the great mercy of God to us, became defeated, ſo as they were not able to act that part of their Treachery, which indeed was principal, and which, if they could have effected, would have rendred the reſt of their Purpoſes the more eaſy.*

Having ſo ſecured the Caſtle, We forthwith laid about for the Apprehenſion of as many of the Offenders as We could, many of them having come to this City but that Night, intending it ſeems the next Morning to act their parts in thoſe treacherous and bloody Crimes.

The firſt Man apprehended was one Hugh Mac-Mahon, *Eſq*; (*Grandſon to the Traytor* Tyron) *a Gentleman of good Fortune in the County of* Monaghan, *who with others, was taken that Morning in* Dublin, *having at the time of their Apprehenſion offered a little Reſiſtance with their Swords drawn, but finding thoſe We employed againſt them more in number, and better armed, yielded. He upon his Examination before us at firſt denied all, but in the end, when he ſaw we laid it home to him, he confeſſed enough to deſtroy himſelf, and impeach ſome others, as by a Copy of his Examination herewith ſent, may appear to your Lordſhip. We then committed him until We might have further time to examine him again, our Time being become more needful to be imployed in Action for ſecuring this Place, than in examining. This* Mac-Mahon *had been abroad, and ſerved the King of* Spain *as a Lieutenant Colonel.*

Upon conference with him and others, and calling to mind a Letter we received the Week before from Sir William Cole, *a Copy whereof we ſend your Lordſhip here incloſed, we gathered that the Lord* Mac-Guire *was to be an Actor in ſurprizing the Caſtle of* Dublin, *wherefore we held it neceſſary to ſecure him immediately, thereby alſo to ſtartle and deter the reſt, when they found him laid faſt. His Lordſhip obſerving what we had done, and the City in Arms, fled from his Lodging early before day, it ſeems diſguiſed; for we had laid a Watch about his Lodging, ſo as we think he could not paſs without diſguiſing himſelf, yet he could not get forth of the City, ſo ſurely guarded were all the Gates.*

There were found at his Lodging hidden ſome Hatchets, with the Helves newly cut off cloſe to the Hatchets, and many Skeans, and ſome Hammers.

In the end the Sheriffs of the City, whom we imployed in ſtrict ſearch of his Lordſhip, found him hidden in a Cockloft, in an obſcure Houſe far from his Lodging, where they apprehended him, and brought him before us.

He denied all, yet ſo, as he could not deny but he heard of it in the Country, though he would not tell us when, or from whom; and confeſſed that he had not advertiſed us thereof, as in duty he ought to have done. But we

were

ere ſo well ſatisfied of his guiltineſs by all Circumſtances, as we doubted not 1641.
on further Examination, when we could be able to ſpare Time for it, to find
apparent: Wherefore we held it of abſolute neceſſity to commit him cloſe
riſoner, as we had formerly done Mac-Mahon, and others; where we left
im on the three and twentieth of this Month in the Morning, about the ſame
our they intended to have been Maſters of that Place, and this City.

That Morning alſo we laid wait for all thoſe Strangers that came the Night
efore to Town, and ſo many were apprehended whom we find reaſon to believe
have hands in this Conſpiracy, as we were forced to diſperſe them into ſeve-
al Goals: And we ſince found that there came many Horſe-Men into the Su-
urbs that Night, who finding the Plot diſcovered, diſperſed themſelves imme-
iately.

When the hour approached, which was deſigned for ſurpriſing the Caſtle,
reat numbers of Strangers were obſerved to come to Town in great Parties
veral ways; who not finding Admittance at the Gates, ſtaid in the Suburbs,
nd there grew numerous, to the terrour of the Inhabitants. We therefore
help that, drew up inſtantly and ſigned a Proclamation, commanding all
Men, not dwellers in the City and Suburbs, to depart within an hour, upon
ain of death, and made it a-like penal to thoſe that ſhould harbour them;
hich Proclamation the Sheriffs immediately proclaimed in all the Suburbs by
ur commandment: Which being accompanied with the Example and Terrour of
he committal of thoſe two eminent Men, and others, occaſioned the departure
f thoſe Multitudes: And in this caſe, all our Lives and Fortunes, and above
ll, his Majeſty's Regal Power and Authority being ſtill at the Stake, we muſt
ary from ordinary Proceedings, not only in executing Martial Law as we ſee
auſe, but alſo in putting ſome to the Rack to find out the bottom of this Trea-
on, and all the Contrivers thereof, which we forſee will not otherwiſe be done.

On that twenty third day of this Month, we conceiving that as ſoon as it
hould be known that the Plot for ſeizing Dublin Caſtle was diſappointed, all
he Conſpirators in the remote Parts might be ſomewhat diſheartned, as on the
ther ſide the good Subjects would be comforted, and would then with the more
confidence ſtand on their guard, did prepare to ſend abroad to all parts of the
Kingdom this Proclamation which we ſend you here incloſed: And ſo having
rovided that the City and Caſtle ſhould be ſo guarded as upon the ſudden we
ould promiſe, we concluded that long continued Conſultation.

On Saturday at Twelve of the Clock at Night the Lord Blany came to
own and brought us the ill News of the Rebels ſeizing with two hundred
Men his Houſe at Caſtle-Blany in the County of Monaghan, and his Wife,
Children, and Servants; as alſo a Houſe of the Earl of Eſſex, called Car-
ickmacroſs with two hundred Men, and a Houſe of Sir Henry Spotſwood
n the ſame County, with two hundred Men; where there being a little Plan-
ation of Britiſh, they plundred the Town and burnt divers Houſes; and it

ſince

1641. *ſince appears that they burnt divers other Villages, and robbed and ſpoiled many* Engliſh, *and none but Proteſtants; leaving the* Engliſh *Papiſts untouched as well as the* Iriſh.

On Sunday morning at three of the Clock, we had Intelligence from Sir Arthur Tyringham, *that the* Iriſh *in the Town had that day alſo broken up the King's Store of Arms and Munition at the* Newry, *where the Store of Arms had lien ever ſince the Peace, and where they found fourſcore and ten Barrels of Powder, and armed themſelves, and put them under the command of Sir* Con Magennis, *Knight, and one* Creely *a Monk, and plundred the* Engliſh *there and diſarmed the Garriſon. And this, though too much, is all that we yet hear is done by them.*

However, we ſhall ſtand on our guard the beſt we may to defend the Caſtle and City principally, thoſe being the Places of moſt importance. But if the Conſpiracy be ſo univerſal as Mac-Mahon *ſaith in his Examination it is, namely, That all the Counties in the Kingdom have conſpired in it, which we admire ſhould ſo fall out in this time of univerſal Peace, and carried with that ſecrecy, that none of the* Engliſh *could have any Friend among them to diſcloſe it, then indeed we ſhall be in high Extremity, and the Kingdom in the greateſt danger that ever it underwent, conſidering our want of Men, Money, and Arms, to enable us to encounter ſo great Multitudes as they can make, if all ſhould join againſt us, the rather, becauſe we have pregnant cauſe to doubt that the Combination hath taken force by the incitement of Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Fryars.*

All the hope we have here, is, the old Engliſh *of the* Pale, *and ſome other parts, will continue conſtant to the King in their Fidelity, as they did in former Rebellions.*

And now in theſe Straits, we muſt under GOD, *depend on Aid forth of* England *for our preſent ſupply with all ſpeed, eſpecially Money, we having none, and Arms, which we ſhall exceedingly want; without which, we are very doubtful what account we ſhall give to the King of his Kingdom.*

But if the Conſpiracy be only of Mac-Guire *and ſome other* Iriſh *of the Kindred and Friends of the Rebel* Tyrone *and other* Iriſh *in the Counties of* Down, Monaghan, Cavan, Fermanagh, *and* Armagh, *and no general Revolt following thereupon, we hope then to make head againſt them in a reaſonable meaſure, if we be enabled with Money from thence, without which we can raiſe no Forces, ſo great is our want of Money, as we have formerly written, and our Debt ſo great to the Army: Nor is Money to be borrowed here; and if it were, we would engage all our Eſtates for it: Neither have we any hope to get in his Majeſty's Rents and Subſidies in theſe Diſturbances, which add extreamly to our Neceſſities.*

On Sunday morning the twenty fourth, we met again in Council, and ſent to all parts of the Kingdom, the encloſed Proclamation, and iſſued Patents to draw

raw hither ſeven Horſe-Troops as a farther ſtrength to this Place, and to be 1641.
with us in caſe the Rebels ſhall make head and march hitherward, ſo as we may be neceſſitated to give them Battle. We alſo then ſent away our Letters to the Preſident of both the Provinces of Munſter *and* Conaught*: And we likewiſe then ſent Letters to the Sheriffs of the Five Counties of the Pale, to conſult of the beſt way and means of their own preſervation. That day the Lord Vice Com.* Gormanſtoun, *the Lord Vice Com.* Nitterville, *the Lord Vice Com.* Fitz-Williams, *and the Lord of* Houth, *and ſince the Earls of* Kildare *and* Fingal, *and the Lords of* Dunſany *and* Slane, *all Noblemen of the* Engliſh *Pale came unto us, declaring that they then and not before heard of the matter, and profeſſed Loyalty to his Majeſty, and Concurrence with the State, but ſaid they wanted Arms, whereof they deſired to be ſupplied by us, which we told them we would willingly do, as relying much on their faithfulneſs to the Crown: But we were not yet certain whether or no we had enough to arm our Strength for the guard of the City and Caſtle; yet we ſupplied ſuch of them as lay in moſt danger, with a ſmall proportion of Arms and Munition for their Houſes, leſt they ſhould conceive we apprehended any jealouſy of them. And we commanded them to be very diligent in ſending out Watches, and making all the Diſcoveries they could, and thereof to adverti ſe us, which they readily promiſed to do.*

And if it fall out that the Iriſh *generally riſe, which we have cauſe to ſuſpect, then we muſt of neceſſity put Arms into the hands of the* Engliſh *Pale in preſent, and to others as faſt as we can, to fight for defence of the State and Themſelves.*

Your Lordſhip now ſees the Condition wherein we ſtand, and how neceſſary it is, firſt, that we enjoy your Preſence ſpeedily for the better guiding of thoſe and other the publick Affairs of the King and Kingdom. And ſecondly, that the Parliament there, be moved immediately to advance to us a good Sum of Money, which being now ſpeedily ſent hither, may prevent the Expence of very much Treaſure and Blood in a long continued War. And if your Lordſhip ſhall happen to ſtay on that ſide any longer time; we muſt then deſire your Lordſhip to appoint a Lieutenant General to diſcharge the great and weighty Burthen of commanding the Forces here.

Amidſt theſe Confuſions and Diſcords fallen upon us, we bethought us of the Parliament, which was formerly adjourned to November *next, and the Term now alſo at hand, which will draw ſuch a concourſe of People hither, and give opportunity under that pretence of aſſembling and taking new Councils, ſeeing the former ſeems to be in ſome part diſappointed, and of contriving further danger to this State and People: We have therefore found it of unavoidable neceſſity to prorogue it accordingly, and to direct the Term to be adjourned to the firſt of* Hillary *Term, excepting only the Court of* Exchequer *for haſtning in the King's Money if it be poſſible. We deſire upon this Occaſion your Lordſhip*

will

1641. *will be pleaſed to view our Letters concerning the Plantation of* Conaught, *dated the twenty fourth of* April *laſt, directed to Mr. Secretary* Vane *in that part thereof, which concerns the County of* Monaghan, *where now theſe Fires do firſt break out.*

In the laſt place we muſt make known to your Lordſhip, that the Army we have, conſiſting but of 2000 *Foot and* 1000 *Horſe, are ſo diſperſed in Garriſons in ſeveral parts, as continually they have been ſince they were ſo reduced, as if they be all ſent for to be drawn together, not only the Places whence they are to be drawn (and for whoſe ſafety they lie there) muſt be by abſence diſtreſſed; but alſo the Companies themſelves coming in ſo ſmall Numbers may be in danger to be cut off in their March; nor indeed have we any Money to pay the Soldiers to enable them to march. And ſo we take leave and remain, from his Majeſty's Caſtle of* Dublin, *25th of* October, 1641.

Your Lordſhip's to be commanded,

William Parſons. John Borlace.

Richard Bolton, *Can.* R. Dillon, Anthony Midenſis, John Raphoe, R. Digby, Ad. Loftus, Ger. Lowther, John Temple, Tho. Rotheram, Fran. Willoughby, J. Ware, G. Wentworth, Robert Meredith.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE ſaid Owen Conally, *who revealed the Conſpiracy is worthy of very great Conſideration, to recompence that Faith and Loyalty which he hath ſo extreamly, to his own danger, expreſſed in this Buſineſs; whereby, under GOD, there is yet hope left us of Deliverance of this State and Kingdom, from the wicked Purpoſes of thoſe Conſpirators. And therefore we beſeech your Lordſhip that it be taken into Conſideration there, ſo as he may have a Mark of his Majeſty's moſt Royal Bounty, which may largely extend to him and his Poſterity, we not being now able here to do it for him.*

W. Parſons.

To the Right Honourable our very good Lord, *Robert*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governour of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

The

The Diſpatch ſent to his Majeſty was addreſſed to Sir *Henry Vane*, principal Secretary, and carried by Sir *Henry Spotſwood*, who went by Sea directly into *Scotland*: And the Letters to the Lord Lieutenant were ſent to *London* by *Owen O Conally*, the firſt Diſcoverer of the Plot. 1641.

The Lords now with all care and diligence applied their further endeavours towards the preventing as much as was poſſible, the deſtruction intended againſt all the *Britiſh* Inhabitants of the Kingdom, as well as the ſecurity of the City, and the places round about it. A work of large extent, and wherein they met with many difficulties, by reaſon of their own wants both of Men and Money. They having formerly ſent away and diſperſed the Proclamations into ſeveral parts of the Country, now ſent Letters by expreſs Meſſengers unto the Preſidents of *Munſter* and *Connaught*, and to ſeveral principal Gentlemen in theſe two Provinces; as alſo to others within the Province of *Leinſter*, giving them notice of the diſcovery of the Plot, and adviſing them to ſtand upon their guard, and to make the beſt proviſion they could for the defence of the Country about them. They ſent another Expreſs to the Earl of *Ormond*, then at his Houſe at *Carick*, with Letters to the ſame effect; and withal, deſired his Lordſhip preſently to repair unto them at *Dublin* with his Troop of Horſe. They ſent likewiſe Commiſſions to the Lords Viſcounts of *Clandeboys* and of the *Ardes*, for raiſing of the *Scots* in the Northern parts, and putting them into Arms, as they did alſo ſoon after to Sir *William Stewart*, and Sir *Robert Stewart*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen of quality in the North. And as they gave them order for proſecution of the Rebels with Fire and Sword, ſo they gave them power to receive ſuch of them in, as ſhould ſubmit to his Majeſty's Grace and Mercy. But theſe Diſpatches they were enforced to ſend all by Sea, the Rebels having ſtopped up the Paſſages, and hindred all manner of entercourſe with that Province by Land.

The Lords Juſtices cauſe the Proclamations to to be diſperſed, Letters to be written, and other means to be uſed for the prevention of the riſing of *Iriſh* in North, but all to no purpoſe.

The Lords of the (*a*) *Pale* having been at the Council-Board, and there declared to the Lords Juſtices, with great proteſtations, their Loyal Affections unto his Majeſty, together with their readineſs and forward concurrence with their Lordſhips in this Service, came unto them again within two or three days after with a Petition; wherein they offered unto their Lordſhips, the deep ſenſe they had of an expreſſion in the late Proclamation, ſet out upon the diſcovery of this great Conſpiracy intend-

The Lords of the *Engliſh* Pale repair to the Council-Board, and there declare their Loyal Affections to his Majeſty.

(*a*) The *Engliſh Pale* is a large Circuit of Land poſſeſſed at the Time of the firſt Conqueſt of *Ireland* by the *Engliſh*, and ever ſince inhabited by them; it contains ſeveral Counties, *viz.* the Counties of *Dublin*, *Meath*, *Lowth*, *Kildare*, &c.

1641. ed, as is there ſet down, *By ſome evil affected* Iriſh *Papiſts*; which words they feared might be by ſome miſinterpreted, and ſuch a conſtruction put upon them, as might reflect upon their Perſons, as comprehended under them. Whereupon the Lords Juſtices and Council thought fit, to deſcend ſo far to their ſatisfaction, as not only to remonſtrate the clearneſs of their intentions towards them, but that it might appear unto the World, they entertained not the leaſt jealous thoughts of them, they cauſed a new Proclamation to be ſet out by way of explanation of the former, which I have thought fit here to inſert, that it may appear how far they were from giving any of thoſe Lords and Gentlemen occaſion to break out into thoſe rebellious courſes, they ſoon afterwards took to their own deſtruction.

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

W. Parſons. John Borlace.

A Proclamation iſſued for the ſatisfaction of the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Engliſh* Pale.

WHereas a Petition hath been preferred unto Us by divers Lords and Gentlemen of the Engliſh *Pale, in behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the Pale, and other the old* Engliſh *of this Kingdom, ſhewing that whereas a late Conſpiracy of Treaſon is diſcovered of ill affected Perſons of the old* Iriſh, *and that thereupon a Proclamation was publiſhed by Us; wherein, among other Things, it is declared that the ſaid Conſpiracy was perpetrated by* Iriſh Papiſts *without diſtinction of any; and they doubting that by thoſe general words of* Iriſh Papiſts, *they might ſeem to be involved, though they declare themſelves confident that we did not intend to conclude them therein, in regard they are none of the old* Iriſh, *nor of their Faction, or Confederacy; but are altogether averſe and oppoſite to all their Deſigns, and all others of like condition; we do therefore to give them full Satisfaction, hereby declare and publiſh to all his Majeſty's good Subjects in this Kingdom, That by the words,* Iriſh Papiſts, *we intended only ſuch of the old meer* Iriſh *in the Province of* Ulſter, *as have plotted, contrived, and been Actors in this Treaſon, and others who adhere to them; and that we did not any way intend, or mean thereby any of the old* Engliſh *of the* Pale, *nor of any other parts of this Kingdom, we being well aſſured of their Fidelities to the Crown, and having experience of the good Affections and Services of their Anceſtors in former Times of Danger and Rebellion. And we further require all his Majeſty's loving Subjects, whether Proteſtants or Papiſts to forbear upbraiding matter of Religion, one againſt the other, and that upon pain of his Majeſty's*

Majeſty's Indignation. Given at His Majeſty's Caſtle of *Dublin*, the 29th of *October*, 1641. 1641.

R. Ranelagh, R. Dillon, Ant. Midenſis, Ad. Loftus, Geo. Shurly, Gerrard Lowther, J. Temple, Fr. Willoughby, J. Ware.

God Save the King.

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But to return now to the Northern Rebels, who ſo cloſely purſued on their firſt Plot, as they beginning to put it in execution in moſt of the chief Places of ſtrength there, upon the twenty third of *October*, the day appointed for the ſurpriſal of the Caſtle of *Dublin*, had by the latter end of the ſame Month gotten into their poſſeſſion all the Towns, Forts, Caſtles, and Gentlemens Houſes within the Counties of *Tyron*, *Donegal*, *Fermanagh*, *Armagh*, *Cavan*, *London-Derry*, *Monaghan*, and half the County of *Down*, excepting the Cities of *London-Derry* and *Colerain*, the Town and Caſtle of *Inniskilling*, and ſome other Places and Caſtles which were for the preſent gallantly defended by the *Britiſh* Undertakers, though afterwards for want of relief, ſurrendred into their hands. The chief of the Northern Rebels that firſt appeared in the execution of this Plot within the Province of *Ulſter*, were Sir *Phelim O Neal*, *Turlogh O Neal*, his Brother, *Rowry Mac-Guire*, Brother to the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, *Mulmore O Rely*, Sir *Conne Mac-Gennis*, Colonel *Mac-Brian*, *Mac-Mahan*; theſe having cloſely combined together, with ſeveral other of their Accomplices, the chief of the ſeveral Septs in the ſeveral Counties, divided their Forces into ſeveral Parties; and according to a general Aſſignation made among themſelves at one and the ſame time, ſurpriſed by treachery the Town and Caſtle of the *Newry*, the Fort of *Dungannon*, Fort *Montjoy*, *Charlemont*, *Tonrages*, *Carrick-Mac-Roſſe*, *Clonghcuter*, Caſtle *Blany*, Caſtle of *Monaghan*; being all of them places of conſiderable ſtrength, and in ſeveral of them Companies of Foot, or Troops of Horſe belonging to the Standing-Army. Beſides theſe, they took a multitude of other Caſtles, Houſes of ſtrength, Towns and Villages, all abundantly peopled with *Britiſh* Inhabitants, who had exceedingly enriched the Country as well as themſelves, by their painful Labours. They had made for their more comfortable ſubſiſtance, handſome and pleaſant Habitations, abounding with Corn, Cattle, and all other Commodities that an induſtrious People could draw out of a good inland Soil. They lived in great plenty, and ſome of them very well

The greater part of *Ulſter* poſſeſſed by the Northern Rebels.

The names of the chief Rebels in *Ulſter*.

Several Forts and other Places ſuddenly ſurpriſed by the Rebels.

1641. ſtored with Plate and ready Money. They lived likewiſe in as great ſecurity, being quiet and careleſs, as the People of *Laiſh*, little ſuſpecting any treachery from their *Iriſh* Neighbours. The *Engliſh* well knew they had given them no manner of provocation; they had entertained them with great demonſtrations of Love and Affection. No ſtory can ever ſhew that in any Age ſince their intermixed Cohabitation, they roſe up ſo ſecretly to do them miſchief. And now of late they lived ſo peaceably and lovingly together as they had juſt reaſon moſt confidently to believe, that the *Iriſh* would never upon any occaſion generally riſe up again to their deſtruction. This I take to be one main and principal reaſon that the *Engliſh* were ſo eaſily over-run within the Northern Counties, and ſo ſuddenly ſwallowed up, before they could make any manner of reſiſtance in the very firſt beginnings of this Rebellion. For moſt of the *Engliſh* having either *Iriſh* Tenants, Servants, or Landlords, and all of them *Iriſh* Neighbours their familiar Friends: As ſoon as the Fire brake out, and the whole Country began to riſe about them, ſome made their recourſe preſently to their Friends for protection, ſome relying upon their Neighbours, others upon their Landlords, others upon their Tenants and Servants for preſervation, or at leaſt, preſent ſafety; and with great confidence put their Lives, their Wives, their Children, and all they had, into their power. But theſe generally either betrayed them into the hands of other Rebels, or moſt perfidiouſly deſtroyed them with their own hands. The Prieſts had now charmed the *Iriſh*, and laid ſuch bloody Impreſſions in them, as it was held, according to the Maxims they had received, a mortal Sin to give any manner of relief or protection, to any of the *Engliſh*. All Bonds and Ties of Faith and Friendſhip were now broken; the *Iriſh* Landlords made a Prey of their *Engliſh* Tenants; *Iriſh* Tenants and Servants a Sacrifice of their *Engliſh* Landlords and Maſters; one Neighbour cruelly murdered by another; the very *Iriſh* Children in the very beginning fell to ſtrip and kill *Engliſh* Children: All other relations were quite cancelled and laid aſide, and it was now eſteemed a moſt meritorious Work in any of them that could by any means or ways whatſoever, bring an *Engliſh* Man to the Slaughter. A Work not very difficult to be compaſſed as things then ſtood. For they living promiſcuouſly among the *Britiſh*, in all parts having from their Prieſts received the Watch-word both for Time and Place, roſe up, as it were actuated by one and the ſame Spirit, in all places of thoſe Counties before-mentioned at one and the ſame point of Time; and ſo in a moment fell upon them, murdering ſome, ſtripping only, or expelling others out of their Habitations. This bred ſuch a general Terrour and Aſtoniſhment among the *Engliſh*, as they knew not what to think, much leſs what to do, or which way to turn themſelves. Their Servants were killed as they were ploughing

The great ſecurity and confidence of the *Engliſh* in the *Iriſh*, a great cauſe of their ſudden deſtruction.

The *Engliſh* betrayed and murdered by their *Iriſh* Friends, Servants, and Tenants.

The intermixture of the *Engliſh* among the *Iriſh*, a main cauſe of their ſudden deſtruction.

loughing in the Fields; Husbands cut to pieces in the preſence of their Vives; their Childrens Brains daſhed out before their Faces; others had ll their Goods and Cattel ſeized and carried away; their Houſes burnt; heir Habitations laid waſte, and all as it were at an inſtant before they ould ſuſpect the *Iriſh* for their Enemies, or any ways imagine that they ad it in their Hearts, or in their Power, to offer ſo great Violence, or o ſuch Miſchief unto them. 1641.

Now for ſuch of the *Engliſh* as ſtood upon their guard, and had gahered together, though but in ſmall Numbers, the *Iriſh* had recourſe to heir ancient Stratagem, which as they have formerly, ſo they ſtill contiued to make frequent uſe of in this preſent Rebellion. And that was fair- The *Iriſh* falſify their Oaths and Proteſtations to the *Engliſh*, and after quarter given them in ſeveral Places, murder and deſtroy them.
y to offer unto them good conditions of Quarter; to aſſure them their Lives, their Goods, and free Paſſage, with a ſafe Conduct into what place ever they pleaſed, and to confirm theſe Covenants ſometimes under their Hands and Seals, ſometimes with deep Oaths and Proteſtations; and then s ſoon as they had them in their power, to hold themſelves diſ-obliged rom their Promiſes, and to leave their Soldiers at liberty to deſpoil, ſtrip, nd murder them at their pleaſure. Thus were the poor *Engliſh* treated, who had ſhut themſelves up in the great Cathedral Church at *Armagh*, y Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and his Brother *Turlogh*. Thus were ſuch of the *Engliſh* uſed by *Philip O Rely*, who had retired themſelves to *Belterbet*, he beſt planted Town in the County of *Cavan*. And after the ſame barbarous manner were ſuch of the *Engliſh* drawn out to the Slaughter, as had gotten into the Caſtle of *Longford*, the Caſtle of *Tullogh* in the County of *Fermangah*, or the Church of *Newtown* in the ſame County, and ſeveral other places; as appears by ſeveral Examinations taken upon Oath, rom Perſons that hardly eſcaped thence with their Lives. And beſides heſe other Polices they uſed, ſome to diſtract and diſcourage them, others to diſinable them to ſtand out to make any defence. As in ſeveral places the *Iriſh* came under divers pretences, and borrowed ſuch Weapons and Arms as the *Engliſh* had in their Houſes; and no ſooner got them into their hands, but they turned them out of their own doors, as they did at *Glaſlough* in the County of *Monaghan*: And by the ſame means they very gently and fairly got into their poſſeſſion all the *Engliſh* Arms in the County of *Cavan*: The High-Sheriff there being n *Iriſh* Man and a Papiſt, pretending that he took their Arms to ſecure them only againſt the Violence of ſuch of the *Iriſh* as he underſtood to be in Arms in the next County. And that they might the more eaſily effect the Deſtruction of the *Engliſh*, and keep off the *Scots* rom giving them any Aſſiſtance; they openly profeſſed to ſpare, as really they did at the firſt, all of the *Scottiſh* Nation; and pretended they would ſuffer them, as likewiſe all *Engliſh* Papiſts, to live quietly among them; Several Policies uſed by the *Iriſh* to prevent the *Engliſh* from riſing againſt, or the *Scots* to join in their defence.

1641. them; hoping thereby to contain all of that Nation from taking up Arms, till they had maſtered all the *Engliſh*, and that then they ſhould be well enough enabled to deal with them. Thus were the poor *Engliſh* prepared for the Slaughter, and ſo exceedingly diſtracted with the tumultuous riſing of the *Iriſh* on all ſides about them, as they could never put themſelves into any poſture of defence. And although in many places they made ſmall Parties, and betook themſelves into ſeveral Churches and Caſtles, ſome of which were moſt gallantly long defended by them, yet did they not draw together in any ſuch conſiderable Body, as would enable them to make good their Party in the Field, againſt the numerous Forces of the Rebels. The truth is, they did not very readily endeavour, or dexterouſly attempt it in any part of that Province, as I could hear of; every Man betaking himſelf the beſt he could to the care of his own Houſe, and ſeeking how to ſave his own Family, his Goods within, and his Cattle without. And ſo while they kept ſingly apart, and ſingly ſtood up for their own private Preſervation, not joining their Forces together for the common Safety, they gave the Rebels a fair opportunity, and a ſingular advantage, to work out with great facility their common Deſtruction. Whereas, if they had deſerted their Houſes upon the firſt notice of the riſing up of the *Iriſh*, and in the ſeveral Counties put themſelves into ſeveral Bodies, under the Commands of the chief *Engliſh* Gentlemen round about them, they had undoubtedly (how ill ſoever they were provided of Arms and Munition) been able to have encountred the *Iriſh*, and to have beat them out of many parts of the Country, or at leaſt, to have put them to ſome ſtand in their Enterprize. Whereas, by the courſe they took, they moſt readily, *without almoſt any reſiſtance*, expoſed themſelves to the mercileſs Cruelty of the *Iriſh*, who at the very firſt (for ſome few days after their breaking out) did not in moſt places murder many of them: But the the courſe they took, was to ſeize upon all their Goods and Cattle, to ſtrip them, their Wives and Children naked; and in that miſerable Plight, the Weather being moſt bitter cold and froſty, to turn them out of their Houſes, to drive them to the Mountains, to wander through the Woods and Bogs; and if they by any means procured any other Cloaths, or but even ordinary Rags to cover their Nakedneſs, they were preſently taken from them again, and none ſuffered to give them any kind of ſhelter by the way, relief, or entertainment, without incurring the heavy diſpleaſure of their Prieſts and chief Commanders. And ſo they drove ſuch of the *Engliſh*, whoſe Lives they thought fit at that time to ſpare, clear out of the Country. Some of them took their Journey towards *Carickfergus*, others towards *Colrain*, *Derry*, and other of the Northern Ports. Many who had gotten together and ſtood upon their guards, came to Compoſition with their bloody Aſſailants,

The *Engliſh* ſtand upon the defence of their private Houſes without joining together in one Body, whereby they give great advantage to the Rebels.

ſſailants, and gave them their Goods, Plate and Money, for leave to 1641.
ome up to the City of *Dublin*. And having bought their Licence at ſo
ear a rate, had Paſſes and Convoys aſſigned them by the chief Captains
f the Rebels, and ſo came on their Way in great Troops of Men, Wo-
en, and Children. Out of the County of *Cavan*, as Mr. *Creighton*
who by his charitable Relief of great numbers of them, preſerved them
om periſhing) teſtifies in his Examination, there paſſed by his Houſe in
e Company, one Thouſand four hundred Perſons, in another five Hun-
ed, from *Newtown* in the County of *Fermanagh*, in others leſſer num-
ers; all without any Weapons, or any thing elſe but the very Cloathes
n their backs, which they ſuffered them not to carry away with them;
ut many were moſt barbarouſly ſtripped of them, by thoſe who under-
ook to give them ſafe Conduct, or perfidiouſly betrayed by them into
e hands of other Rebels, by whom ſome were killed, others wounded;
nd all in a manner, whatſoever they had to cover their Nakedneſs, taken
om moſt of them; as may appear by the Examination of *Adam Clover* *Adam Clover's* Examination.
f *Slonoſy* in the County of *Cavan*, who being duly ſworn, depoſeth, *in-*
ter alia, That this Deponent and his Company that were robbed, ob-
erved, that thirty Perſons or thereabouts, were then moſt barbarouſly
urdered and ſlain outright, and about one Hundred and fifty more Per-
ons cruelly wounded; ſo that Traces of Blood iſſuing from their Wounds,
y upon the High-way for twelve Miles together, and many very young
hildren were left and periſhed by the way, to the number of ſixty or
hereabouts; becauſe the cruel Purſuit of the Rebels was ſuch, that their
Parents and Friends could not carry them further. And further ſaith,
hat ſome of the Rebels vowed, That if any digged Graves wherein to
ury the dead Children, they ſhould be buried therein themſelves: So the
oor People left the moſt of them unburied, expoſed to ravenous Beaſts
nd Fowls, and ſome few their Parents carried a great way to bury them.
nd this Deponent further ſaith, that he ſaw upon the way a Woman,
eft by the Rebels ſtripped to her Smock, ſet upon by three Women
nd ſome *Iriſh* Children, who miſerably rent and tore the ſaid poor *Eng-*
liſh Woman, and ſtripped her of her Smock in a bitter Froſt and Snow,
o that ſhe fell in Labour under their hands, and both ſhe and her Child
ied there. Thus did their Mercy in ſparing thoſe miſerable Souls in
his manner prove by much a far greater Cruelty than if they had ſudden-
enly cut them off, as they did afterwards many thouſand of *Britiſh* that
ell into their hands. For now they ſtarved and periſhed in Multitudes
pon the ways as they travelled along; and to thoſe that out-lived the
Miſery of their Journey, their Limbs only ſerved to drag up their Bodies
o Chriſtian Burial, there denied unto them. For many of the Men,
nd moſt of the Women and Children that thus eſcaped, either to *Dub-*
lin,

1641. *lin*, or other places of ſafety in the North, not long outlived the bitterneſs of their Paſſage; but either overwhelmed with grief, or outwearied with Travel, contracted thoſe diſeaſes which furthered by hunger, cold, nakedneſs, ill lodgings, and want of other neceſſaries, ſtruck deeply into Bodies that had lived long at eaſe with much plenty, and ſoon brought them with ſorrow to their Graves.

Theſe were the firſt fruits of this Rebellion, which now began to dilate it ſelf into the other Provinces, having covered over the northern Parts of the Kingdom with fearful Deſolations. The firſt Plotters were yet undiſcovered, but the great active Inſtruments appointed for the Execution of this horrid Deſign fully appeared, and had already deeply imbru-

Sir Phelim O Neal's proceedings.

ed their hands in the bloody Maſſacres of the *Engliſh*. Sir *Phelim O Neal* being the chief of that Sept, and now the Perſon remaining of neareſt alliance to the late Earl of *Tyron*, aſſumed to himſelf the chief power among the Rebels in *Ulſter*; and by his directions guided the reſt of his complices on, in the Deſtruction of all the *Engliſh* there. He was one of very mean Parts without Courage or Conduct; his Education for a great part of his youth was in *England*; he was admitted a Student of *Linclons-Inn*, and there trained up in the Proteſtant Religion, which he ſoon changed after, if not before his return into *Ireland*, lived looſly, and having no conſiderable Eſtate, by reaſon of the great Engagement upon it, became of very little eſteem in all Opinions. Yet ſuch were the over zealous Affections of his country Men in this cauſe, their ſecrecy in attempting, their ſuddenneſs in executing, as by their forwardneſs to deſtroy the *Engliſh* and get their Goods, he quickly over-run that part of the Country. He had prevailed ſo far within ſeven days after he firſt appeared in this Rebellion, by ſeizing moſt treacherouſly at the very firſt upon *Charlemont*, where the Lord *Caufield* lay with his Foot-company, the Forts of *Dongannon* and *Montjoy*, as that in his Letter written to Father *Patrick O Donnell* his Confeſſor, bearing date from *Montjoy*, the 30th of *October*, he was able to brag of great and many Victories. And preſently after he had gotten ſuch a multitude of rude Fellows together, though in very ill equipage, as he marched down with great numbers of Men towards *Liſnagarvy*, near the chief Plantation of the *Scots*; (for that part of their Plot to ſpare them, as they did in the beginning, they found now too groſs to take, therefore they reſolved to fall upon them without mercy) and yet left ſufficient Forces to come up into the Pale, to take in *Dondalke* in the County of *Lowth*, which was a frontier Town in the laſt Wars againſt *Tyron*, and ſo well defended it ſelf, as with all the power he had, he could never recover it into his hands. There lay now a Foot-Company of the old Army, but the Lieutenant who commanded it, having neither his Men in readineſs, nor Arms or Munition, made little or

Dondolke taken by the Rebels about the beginning of Novem. 1641.

no

no reſiſtance, eaſily giving way to the forward affections of the Inhabitants, who delivered up the Town into the poſſeſſion of the Rebels about the beginning of *November*, 1641. 1641.

The Rebels preſently after their taking in of *Dondalke*, marched on further into the County of *Lowth*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Ardee*, a little Town within ſeven Miles of *Tredagh*, anciently called *Drohedagh*. So as it was now high time to provide for the ſafety of that Town, the Lord *Moore* had already retired thither from his Houſe at *Millifont*, and there remained with his Troop of Horſe and two Companies of Foot. One was under the command of Sir *John Nettervile*, eldeſt Son to the Lord Viſcount *Nettervile*. He diſcovered in the very beginning much virulency in his affections, by giving falſe frights and raiſing falſe rumours, and making all manner of ill infuſions into the minds of the Townſmen, who as it afterwards appeared, were but too forward to take part with the Rebels. It is verily believed they had in the very beginning ſome Plot to cut off the Lord *Moore* and ſeize upon his Troop; and that Sir *John Nettervile*'s part was to begin a mutiny, which he attempted that night he was to be upon the watch, by giving ill language, and endeavouring to make a quarrel with his Lordſhip, which he very diſcreetly paſſed over, and ſo carefully looked to the guard of the Town, as they could take no advantage to put on their deſign. Howſoever the Towns-Men were extreamly frighted with the thoughts of their preſent danger, and the greater part of them being Papiſts, were ready to declare themſelves for the Catholick cauſe; only their deſires were, things might be ſo ordered, as would adminiſter unto them ſpecious pretences of neceſſity for the ſame. The Lord *Moore* gave preſent advertiſement unto the Lords Juſtices and Council, of the ill condition and moſt imminent danger he found the Town to be then in, that it was not poſſible to preſerve it out of the hands of the Rebels without further ſtrength both of Horſe and Foot. That in caſe the Enemy ſhould make any ſudden approaches, or attempt to ſurprize the Town, he found ſuch poor preparatives for defence within, ſuch apparent ſigns of diſloyalty in the Townſmen, and all things in ſuch a deſperate confuſion, as they ſhould not be able by the beſt endeavours they could uſe to give any good account of that place. Hereupon their Lordſhips preſently reſolved, to levy in the City of *Dublin* a Regiment of Foot, and to place them under the command of Sir *Henry Tichborn* for the defence of *Tredagh*. And for this purpoſe there was very opportunely in the hands of the Vice-Treaſurer 3000 *l.* in a readineſs to be at that time ſent over into *England*, for the ſatisfaction of a publick engagement there. This the Lords thought fit to make uſe of, for the levying and ſetting out of thoſe Men which Sir *Henry Tichborn* got together in very few Days, and having a Commiſſion of Government for

The Rebels march up towards *Tredagh*.

The ill condition of *Tredagh* repreſented by the L. *Moore* to the Lords Juſtices.

A Regiment raiſed by the Lords Juſtices at *Dublin*, and ſent down under the command of Sir *Hen. Tichborn*, for the defence of *Tredagh*, *Novem.* 3.

1641. for the Town, with ſome other private inſtructions, he marched away with great alacrity and diligence the 3d of *November*, and happily arrived next Day at *Tredagh*.

A Regiment raiſed by Sir C. *Coot*.

The Lords granted another Commiſſion to Sir *Charles Coot* to levy a Thouſand Men more, which he moſt carefully endeavoured, and within a very ſhort time made up his Regiment, wherein very many of the *Engliſh*, who came up ſtripped and deſpoiled out of the North liſted themſelves; for moſt of the Men which eſcaped from thence with their lives, being better able to ſuffer than the Women and Children, out-lived the miſeries of their Journey, and putting themſelves into ſeveral Companies, ſome of them had the contentment to revenge the barbarous cruelty uſed by the Rebels towards them.

The ſecond diſpatch made by the Lords Juſtices and Council into *England*, *Novem.* 5.

Upon the fifth of *November*, the Lords made their ſecond diſpatch unto His Majeſty, ſtill at *Edenburgh* in *Scotland*: At the ſame time they ſent ſeveral Letters into *England*, to the Lord Keeper, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, to the Lords of His Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, and to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; in all which they did with much earneſtneſs declare their preſent dangers, together with the neceſſity of ſending ſudden relief. In their Letter to the Lords of the Council they did more particularly ſet down the miſerable eſtate of the whole Kingdom, and the large progreſs that the *Rebellion* had in few Days made ſince it broke out. They repreſented unto their Lordſhips the great outrages the Rebels had committed upon the *Britiſh* Inhabitants in *Ulſter*, that they had ſeized upon all their Eſtates and Houſes in five Counties of that Province, poſſeſſed their Arms, detained many of the principal Gentlemen Priſoners; That they had already ſlain many, moſt barbarouſly hewed ſome to pieces, that they have expoſed Thouſands to want and beggery, who had good Eſtates and lived plentifully: That the Rebellion began then to diffuſe it ſelf into the Counties of *Longford* and *Letrim*, and to threaten the *Engliſh* Plantations in the King and Queens County: That the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Meath* and *Lowth* began to fall upon the *Engliſh* near about them: That they conceived there could not be leſs then 30000 who had already openly declared themſelves in this Rebellion, and were aſſembled together in ſeveral great Parties; that they underſtood their deſign was, having got *Dundalke*, to take in *Tredagh*, and ſome to come up immediately to beſiege the City and Caſtle of *Dublin*: That they gave out publickly, their purpoſe was to extirpate the *Engliſh* and *Proteſtants*, and not to lay down Arms until the *Romiſh Religion* were eſtabliſhed, the Government ſettled in the hands of the Natives, and the old *Iriſh* reſtored to the lands of their ſuppoſed Anceſtors. That they held it their duty to acquaint their Lordſhips with the lamentable eſtate wherein the Kingdom ſtood, that

that His Majeſty and the Parliament might underſtand it, and ſo ſpeedily provide for ſending over to their relief 10000 Foot, 1000 Horſe, together with ſome able Commanders, 100000 *l.* in Money, and further proviſions of Arms: That unleſs theſe were preſently ſent to them (they craved leave to repeat it again and again) the Kingdom would be utterly loſt, all the *Engliſh* and *Proteſtants* in *Ireland* deſtroyed, the Peace of the Kingdom of *England* diſturbed by the *Iriſh* from thence, and ſo *England* enforced to make a new conqueſt of it, for that a politick Reformation would then be impoſſible. 1641.

But now before I paſs further, I ſhall here give an accompt of the arrival of theſe and the former Letters of the 25th of *October*, addreſſed by the Lords Juſtices and Council to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. *Owen O Conally*, the happy diſcoverer of the firſt Plot (who carried the firſt Letters over) arrived at *London* the laſt Day of *October*, and late in the Evening delivered thoſe Letters to his Lordſhip, who having read them over, and received from him full Information of all other particulars within his knowledge, repaired the next Morning to the Council-board, and having there acquainted the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy-Council with them, he was requir'd by their Lordſhips to communicate them unto the Lords of the upper Houſe of Parliament, which he did accordingly the very ſame Morning: And they conſidering the high importance of them, as ſoon as they had peruſed them, ordered that they ſhould be preſently ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, by the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy-Seal, Lord High-Chamberlain, Lord Admiral, Lord Marſhal, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Dorſet*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Berks*, Earl of *Briſtol*, Lord Viſcount *Say*, Earl of *Mandevile*, Lord *Goring*, Lord *Wilmot*, all of them being of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council. There were Chairs provided for theſe Lords in the Houſe of Commons, and they ſat down there till the Letters were read, and then having informed the Houſe of ſuch other particulars as they had received concerning the general Rebellion in *Ireland*, they departed without any further conference or other debate upon them, leaving the Houſe of Commons to conſider further of them: Who preſently Ordered,

The proceedings of the Parliament of *England* upon the firſt advertiſements brought unto them of the Rebellion raiſed in *Ireland*.

That the Houſe forthwith ſhould be reſolved into a Committee, to take into conſideration the matter offered concerning the Rebellion in Ireland, *as likewiſe to provide for the ſafety of the Kingdom of* England.

This being done, they fell into a moſt ſerious debate of this great buſineſs then before them, they fully conſidered what means were fitteſt to be uſed at preſent for the prevention of the further ſpreading of that hideous Rebellion in *Ireland*, as well as ſtopping of the ill influence it might make upon their affairs in *England*, where great troubles even then began to appear within view. And after much time ſpent in this debate, they

1641. came to these several Conclusions, which being put to the question, were assented unto by the Committee, and so resolved as followeth;

1. That 50000 *l.* be forthwith provided.

2. That a Conference be desired with the Lords, to move them that a select Committee of the Members of both Houses may be appointed to go to the City of *London*, and to make a Declaration unto them of the state of the business in *Ireland*, and to acquaint them that the lending of Monies at this time will be an acceptable service to the Common-wealth. And that they propose unto them the Loan of 50000 *l.* and to assure them that they shall be secured both of the Principal and Interest, by Act of Parliament.

3. That a select Committee may be named by both Houses to consider of the affairs of *Ireland*.

4. That *Owen O Conally*, who discovered this great Treason, shall have 500 *l.* presently paid him, and 200 *l. per annum* pension, until provision of Land of inheritance of a greater Value be made for him.

5. That the Persons of Papists of quality within this Kingdom, may be secured within the several Counties where they reside.

6. That no Person whatsoever, except those who are Merchants, shall be admitted to go over into *Ireland*, without Certificate from the Committee of both Houses appointed to consider the affairs of *Ireland*.

These with several other particulars concerning *Ireland*, and tending in order to the safety of the Kingdom of *England*, were resolved upon the question, and Mr. *Whitlock* appointed to report them to the House as Heads of a Conference desired with the Lords concerning the affairs of *Ireland*, which was accordingly had with their Lordships the same Day; at which Conference the Lord Keeper did express the very great sense the Lords had of the exceeding great Care taken by the House of Commons for the prevention of the further spreading of the Rebellion in *Ireland*. And his Lordship by Command of the Lords did further let them know, that their Lordships did think fit to agree with them in all those particulars presented unto them by the House of Commons without any material alteration, only adding such further things as they conceived might serve to further and expedite their desires in the more speedy putting them in Execution.

The House of Commons having proceeded thus far in the affairs of *Ireland*, upon the two first Days after the discovery made unto them, of the Rebellion there raised, did notwithstanding their own present distractions, set a-part some portion almost of every Day that they sate, during the whole Month of *November*, for the considering of the affairs of *Ireland*; and so upon the third and fourth of the same, resolved upon the question, and accordingly ordered these particulars following:

1. That

1. That the Houſe holds fit that 20000 *l.* be forthwith ſupplied for the preſent Occaſions of *Ireland.* 1641.

2. That a convenient number of Ships ſhall be provided for the guarding of the Sea-Coaſts of *Ireland.*

3. That this Houſe holds fit that 6000 Foot and 2000 Horſe ſhall be raiſed with all convenient ſpeed, for the preſent Expedition into *Ireland.*

4. That the Lord Lieutenant ſhall preſent to both Houſes of Parliament, ſuch Officers as he ſhall think fit to ſend into *Ireland,* to command any Forces to be tranſported thither.

5. That Magazines of Victuals ſhall be forthwith provided at *Weſtcheſter* to be ſent over to *Dublin,* as the Occaſions of that Kingdom ſhall require.

6. That the Magazines of Arms, Ammunition, Powder, now in *Carlile,* ſhall be forthwith ſent over to *Knockfergus* in *Ireland.*

7. That it be referred to the King's Council, to conſider of ſome fit way, and to preſent it to the Houſe, for a publication to be made of Rewards to be given to ſuch as ſhall do ſervice in this Expedition into *Ireland;* and for a pardon of ſuch of the Rebels in *Ireland* as ſhall come in for a Time limitted, and of a Sum of Money to be appointed for a Reward to ſuch as ſhall bring in the Heads of ſuch principal Rebels as ſhall be nominated.

8. That Letters ſhall be forthwith ſent to the Juſtices in *Ireland,* to acquaint them how ſenſible this Houſe is of the Affairs of *Ireland.*

9. That the Committee of *Iriſh* Affairs ſhall conſider how, and in what manner this Kingdom ſhall make uſe of the Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance of *Scotland* in the Buſineſs of *Ireland.*

10. That directions ſhall be given for the drawing of a Bill for the preſſing of Men for this particular Service for *Ireland.*

These Particulars, together with ſeveral others, being reſolved upon the Queſtion, they paſſed an Ordinance of Parliament, enabling the Earl of *Leiceſter,* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland,* to raiſe 3500 Foot and 600 Horſe, for the preſent Service there. And they further expreſſed their Reſolution, not to make uſe of the Aſſiſtance offered unto them by their Brethren of *Scotland* further for the preſent, than for the furniſhing them with 1000 Foot, which they deſired might be tranſported out of *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland.* And on the ſame day they ordered, that the Maſter of his Majeſty's Ordnance ſhould deliver to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* the Number of 1000 Arms for Horſe, and 8000 Arms for Foot, and ten Laſt of Powder, to be preſently ſent into *Ireland.* And that the Lord Admiral ſhould ſuddenly provide ſhipping for the tranſporting

1641. tranſporting of Men, Arms, and Ammunition, and other Proviſions according to the former Reſolutions of the Houſe.

Now while both Houſes of Parliament were taking order for raiſing Men, Money, and ſending Proviſions and other Neceſſaries for *Ireland*, there arrived thoſe other Letters of the 5th of *November*, formerly mentioned, which being addreſſed to the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy Council, were communicated to both Houſes of Parliament; and after a Conference upon them, took further Reſolutions for the ſpeedy ſending away Supplies into *Ireland*. And ſuch were the forward Affections and Zeal of the Houſe of Commons, to promote what concerned the Service of *Ireland*, as they thereupon voted 200000 *l.* to be raiſed for the ſuppreſſing the *Iriſh* Rebellion, and for ſecuring of the Kingdom of *England*, and payment of the publick Debts.

And that they might facilitate this great work of raiſing ſuch a Sum of Money, upon Credit of an Act of Parliament, before the Money could be collected throughout the Kingdom; they thought fit, for the better Encouragement of the City of *London*, and for the giving them full ſatisfaction in point of ſecurity for the Monies ſo formerly lent them, to make this Order following.

THE Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, having a due regard to the good Affections of the City of London, *expreſſed upon ſundry Occaſions by the advancing and lending of great Sums of Money, for the Service of this Common-wealth, and particularly the Sum of* 50000 l. *lent for the* Iriſh *Affairs; and the Sum of* 50000 l. *more lent by the ſaid City unto the Peers attending his Majeſty in the Northern Parts, before the beginning of this preſent Parliament, which are not yet paid, or otherwiſe ſecured, ſhall be fully ſatisfied and repaid unto the ſaid City of* London, *with Intereſt of* 8 l. per Cent. *for one Year, out of ſuch Monies as are or ſhall be raiſed by Authority of Parliament. And for that purpoſe an Act of Parliament to be paſſed with all Expedition. Provided always that this preſent Ordinance ſhall not in any ways be prejudicial to any Members of the ſaid Houſe of Commons, who have formerly lent any Sums of Money to this Parliament, nor to the Northern Counties, nor to any Perſons whatſoever, to whom both Houſes of Parliament, or the ſaid Houſe of Commons have formerly ordered the Payment of any Sums of Money, nor to any Security given to them, before the making of this Ordinance.*

But I ſhall now return to the Affairs of this Kingdom, and the ſerious Conſultations and Means uſed here by the Juſtices and Council for the ſecuring of the City and Caſtle of *Dublin*, which by reaſon of the preſent Confuſion, Weakneſs, and Wants, were in very great, and moſt apparent danger of a ſudden Surpriſe. And

And firſt for the Caſtle, Sir *Francis Willoughby* being made Governour, had a Company of an hundred Men well armed, aſſigned for the conſtant Guard of that Place, beſides the ordinary Warders, who gave their uſual Attendance there. And becauſe the Lords conceived it might be dangerous in ſuch deſperate Times to admit ſuch a multitude of Suitors of all ſorts into the Caſtle, as had daily occaſion to attend the Council-Board, they preſently transferred the place of their meeting in Council to *Cork*-Houſe, where they continued to ſit a good time after, notwithſtanding the great danger their Perſons were continually expoſed unto, by the confident reſort in great numbers of ſeveral Lords, Gentlemen and others, who within few days after declared themſelves Rebels, and ſo went out among them. It was God's immediate Providence that preſerved them, and ſuffered not thoſe Perſons, who ſoon after became ſuch bloody Rebels, to lay hold on that opportunity. For certainly, they might with great eaſe have taken out of the way the Lords Juſtices and Council, and ſo have left all Things in ſuch confuſion as would have brought on their their long deſired Ends without any further Conteſtation or Trouble. 1641.

The next care was to provide Victuals for the Caſtle in ſuch proportions as might enable it to endure a Siege, in caſe the Town, either through Treachery within, or by Forces from without, ſhould come to be ſurpriſed by the Rebels, who now carried all things ſo clearly before them in the North, as they moſt confidently gave it out, they would ſuddenly come down and make themſelves Maſters of it. How to compaſs this, ſeemed a matter of great difficulty, in regard there was no Money to be had for the performing this Work ſo abſolutely neceſſary in it ſelf, and at that Time ſo highly importing the Safety and Preſervation, even of the whole Kingdom. Therefore the Maſter of the Rolls, upon whom the Lords were pleaſed to impoſe this Service of victualling the Caſtle, took the advantage of the ſtrange Frights, Fears, and little Safety, all the *Engliſh* and *Proteſtants*, conceived both themſelves and their Goods to remain in at that time. He ſent preſently for ſome of the chief Merchants that were Proteſtants in the Town, and clearly repreſented unto them, the high Neceſſities of the State, the great danger of the Town, the publick Benefit, and their own private Security, in laying into the Caſtle ſuch of their Proviſions as they had lying by them even in unſafe places of the City. Theſe Impreſſions took, and they rightly apprehending the common danger, that they could not out-live the Ruins of the Caſtle; partly out of their own good Affections to the Service, partly out of a prudent Care to ſecure their Goods, were content to bring in great quantities of Beef, Herrings, and Corn upon the Maſter of the Roll's undertaking to ſee them ſatisfied in caſe uſe were made of them, or otherwiſe certain Reſtitution in kind to the ſeveral Owners.

Order taken for victualling the Caſtle of *Dublin*.

1641. Owners. So as there were preſently laid in by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Merchants, within the Verge of the Caſtle, above two thouſand Barrels of Beef, two thouſand Barrels of Herrings, and a good proportion of Wheat; Proviſions ſufficient, not only to victual the Caſtle for many Months, but which did ſerve to maintain the whole Army billeted in the City a long time after; and their Money they received within few Months after, by Certificate from hence upon the Chamber of *London*; according to an Order made by both Houſes of Parliament in *England*, for preſent Payment to be made to ſuch as laid in any Proviſions for the Army in *Ireland*. There was then further Order taken to new dig and clear an old Well, long ſince ſtopped up within the Walls of the Caſtle; and to provide all other Neceſſaries fit for a Siege. This was the firſt ſtep to the ſafety of this place, and gave great Comfort and Security to all the *Engliſh* and *Proteſtants*.

The Lords Juſtices care to provide for the ſafety of the City of *Dublin*.

The Caſtle being thus happily provided for, the Lords took it next into their Care how to ſecure the City in ſome ſort, againſt any ſudden Attempts. And this proved a work not eaſy to be effected, not only in regard of the crazineſs of the Walls, the large Suburbs, and weakneſs of the Place; but much more in reſpect of the corrupt ill Affections of the Popiſh Inhabitants within the City: So ſtrangely were many of them deluded with the ill Infuſions of their Prieſts, as they did certainly (as we found afterwards by woful Experience) do all that in them lay, to promote the rebellious Deſigns then ſet on foot (as they believed) only for the re-ſettlement of their Religion, and recovery of their Liberties. They were the Inſtruments to convey away privately moſt of the chief Conſpirators, who would have ſurpriſed the Caſtle on the 23d of *October*. They ſecretly entertained many of the Rebels that came out of the Country; they likewiſe ſent them Relief that were abroad, by ſecret ways, conveighing as well Ammunition, as Intelligence of all Paſſages from hence. And ſuch ſtrong Averſions had they againſt all Contributions for the Maintenance of his Majeſty's Army, as in the very beginning of the Rebellion, when the Lords ſent for the Mayor and Aldermen, and laying before them the high Neceſſities of the State, together with the apparent danger of the whole City and Kingdom, deſired to borrow a conſiderable Sum of Money for the preſent, which they undertook to repay out of the next Treaſure that ſhould arrive out of *England*: The Popiſh Party among them was ſo prevalent, as that after a moſt ſerious Conſultation and very ſolemn Debate among themſelves, they returned this anſwer, That they were not able to furniſh above 40 *l.* and part of that was to be brought in in Cattle.

There

1641.

There remained at this time imbarked within the Harbour of *Dublin*, four hundred *Iriſh* Soldiers, ready, as was pretended, to ſet ſail for *Spain*, under the command of Colonel *John Barry*, who with ſome other *Iriſh* Gentlemen had procured leave from his Majeſty to levy certain numbers of Voluntiers to be tranſported over for the Service of the King of *Spain*. And thoſe levied in other parts, as well as at *Dublin*, were brought together juſt at the very time deſign'd for the execution of the great Plot. The *Pretence* was ſpecious, but certainly their Intentions how finely ſoever cover'd over, were to have thoſe Men in a readineſs together, at the very time appointed for the firſt breaking out of theſe unnatural Troubles. And as for thoſe Men which lay within the Harbour of *Dublin*, they were ſo great a Terrour to all the Proteſtant Inhabitants in the City, as it exceedingly perplexed the Lords how to diſpoſe of them as might prevent the Miſchief juſtly feared, in caſe of their landing. Their Commanders had ſo handſomely ordered the matter, as though they were deſigned for a long Voyage, yet ſtay on Ship-board any longer they could not, by reaſon they had no Victuals, not even enough to carry them out of the Harbour; and no Man had Order, in the abſence of Colonel *Barry*, who retired himſelf ſome few Miles out of the Town, the very Evening before the Caſtle ſhould have been taken, to provide for the further ſupplying of them. To ſuffer them to land, was to add ſo many Inſtruments of Miſchief to thoſe already gathered within and about the City. Therefore it was reſolved, that the Captain of the King's Pinnace, then in the Harbour, ſhould by force keep them from landing; which he did ſeveral days together, till it was apparent they would inevitably ſtarve, if a courſe were not ſuddenly taken to afford them ſome Relief. Whereupon the Lords having no means to victual them aboard, gave them leave to land, having firſt taken order they ſhould not come into the City.

Several *Iriſh* Soldiers imbarqued under pretence of being carried into *Spain* at the very time of the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion.

The Lords Juſtices and Council thought fit within very few days after the landing of theſe Men, the more to deter them, and all other ill affected Perſons from repairing to the City of *Dublin*, to iſſue out a Proclamation for the diſcovery and preſent removal of all ſuch as did or ſhould come and continue there without juſt or neceſſary cauſe. But ſo careful were they in this, and all other their Actions, not to give any diſtaſte to the *Iriſh* or other Inhabitants of the Country, as they forbore to inflict any puniſhment upon any that continued in the City contrary to their Proclamation, ſparing ſeveral Perſons whom they had not only juſt cauſe to be jealous of, but who were brought before them, and convinced to have uttered Speeches clearly diſcovering their ill Affections. And having by late Proclamations prorogued the Parliament, and adjourned *Michaelmas* Term, that under pretence of repair to either of them,

Several Proclamations iſſued out by the Lords Juſtices and Council.

1641. unneceſſary concourſe of Strangers might not be brought unto the Town, they proceeded on to ſome other Acts, which as they conceived would not only render great Security to the City, but leſſen the Diſtempers abroad, bring ſafety to the *Pale*, and keep the Dangers at diſtance, and far off from them. And for this purpoſe they being informed, that a multitude of the meaner ſort of People were ignorantly involved in the guilt of this Rebellion, and by the wicked ſeducement of the firſt Conſpirators had been drawn on to deſpoil their *Engliſh* Neighbours, they iſſued out a Proclamation about the beginning of the Month of *November*, declaring unto all ſuch as were not Freeholders within the County of *Meath*, *Weſt-Meath*, *Lowth*, and *Longford*; that if they would come in and ſubmit, make reſtitution of the Goods ſo taken, they ſhould be received to his Majeſty's Mercy, and no further Proſecution held againſt them.

A Remonſtrance ſent up to the Lords Juſtices and Council, from the Rebels in the County of *Cavan*.

Much about the time of the ſending forth of this *Proclamation*, ſome of the chief of the Sept of the *Rely*'s, and other prime Gentlemen in the County of *Cavan*, ſent up a kind of *Remonſtrance* to the Lords Juſtices and Council. Whereunto they returned them a very fair anſwer, aſſuring them of their readineſs to give all juſt redreſs of their Grievances expreſſed therein, ſo they would in the mean time retire peaceably to their Houſes, reſtore, as they were able, the *Engliſh* Mens Goods, and forbear all further Acts of Rapine and Violence. And they did preſently ſend over their Remonſtrance to the Lord Lieutenant, to be preſented to his Majeſty, according to their deſires. But theſe ways of Moderation and peaceable Perſwaſions, proved of very little effect, they had no manner of Influence into the reſolved Minds of the Leaders, or of Operation upon the heardned Hearts of the People; they were too deeply engaged, ſo ſlightly to retire. They had now drenched themſelves into the Blood of the *Engliſh*, and were greatly enriched with their Spoils. It was not poſſible for them to make Reſtitution, and they hoped to go through with the Work, and by the united Power of the Kingdom to draw the whole Management of the Affairs into their own hands.

Commiſſions of Martial Law granted unto ſeveral perſons by the Lords Juſtices.

And now likewiſe the Lords Juſtices, and Council, that they might ſhew the great Confidence they had in the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, and give them both opportunity and means to expreſs their Loyalty and Affections to his Majeſty's Service, reſolved (according as the conſtitution of their Affairs then required) to do ſome ſuch Acts as might clearly perſwade them of the great Truſt they really repoſed in them. And therefore firſt they gave out ſeveral Commiſſions of Martial Law, for executing (without attending a proceeding according to the ordinary courſe of the common Law) of ſuch Traitors and Rebels as ſhould be apprehended doing miſchief in any parts of the Country about them. And

theſe

these they directed to the moſt active Gentlemen, though all Papiſts, inhabiting in the ſeveral Counties; as, to *Henry Talbot* in the County of *Dublin*, *John Bellew* Eſq; in the County of *Lowth*, *Richard Dalton* and *James Tuit* Eſq; in the County of *Weſt-Meath*, *Valerian Weſley*, in the County of *Meath*, *James Talbot* in the County of *Cavan*. 1641.

Next they made choice of the chief Perſons of quality reſiding in the ſaid Counties of the *Pale*, and others adjacent to them, to Govern and Command ſuch Forces as ſhould be raiſed by them, and armed by the State for the defence of the Country, and iſſued out from the Council-Board ſeveral Commiſſions of Government unto them. As, one to the Earl of *Ormond* and the Lord Viſcount *Montgarret*, for the County of *Kilkenny*; to *Walter Bagnall* Eſq; for the County of *Catherlagh*; Sir *James Dillon* the elder, and Sir *James Dillon* the younger for the County of *Longford*; Lord Viſcount *Coſteloe* for the County of *Mayo*; Sir *Robert Talbot* and *Garret Birne*, for the County of *Wicklow*; Sir *Chriſtopher Bellew* for the County of *Lowth*; Earl of *Kildare* for the County of *Kildare*; Sir *Thomas Nugent* for the County of *Weſt-Meath*; *Nicholas Barnwell* for the County of *Dublin*; Lord Viſcount *Gormanſtone* for the County of *Meath*. All theſe were made choice of without diſtinction of Religion; the Lords holding it fit at that time to put the chief Perſons of power in the Country into thoſe Places of truſt; hoping they might prove good Inſtruments to oppoſe the threatening incurſions of the Northern Rebels which they knew them well enabled to perform, if they would really joyn in the ſervice, or at leaſt be kept by this their great confidence in them, from giving any entertainment or aſſiſtance to their Rebellious Deſigns.

Commiſſions of Government of the ſeveral Counties within the *Pale*, granted to ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen, without diſtinction of Religion.

The Commiſſion directed to the Lord of *Gormanſtone*, I have thought fit here to inſert. It was found afterwards in his Study by ſome of his Majeſty's Army, when he and all the reſt of the Governours that were of the *Romiſh* Religion, thus choſen, deſerted their Houſes, and openly declared themſelves in actual Rebellion. The other Commiſſions were all of the ſame Tenour.

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

W. Parſons. John Borlace.

1641. *RIght truſty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas divers moſt Diſloyal and Malignant Perſons within this Kingdom, have Traiterouſly Conſpired againſt his Majeſty, his Peace, Crown and Dignity; and many of them in Execution of their Conſpiracy, are Traiterouſly Aſſembled together in a warlike Manner, and have moſt inhumanely made Deſtruction and Devaſtation of the Perſons and Eſtates of divers of his Majeſty's Good and Loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, and taken, ſlain, and impriſoned great Numbers of them. We out of our Care and Zeal for the common Good, being deſirous by all means to ſuppreſs the ſaid Treaſons and Traitors, and to conſerve the Perſons and Fortunes of his Majeſty's loving Subjects here in ſafety; and to prevent the further Spoil and Devaſtation of his Majeſty's good People here; do therefore hereby require and authorize you to levy, raiſe and aſſemble, all, every, or any the Forces, as well Foot-men as Horſe-men within the County of* Meath, *giving you hereby the command in Chief of all the ſaid Forces; and hereby further requiring and authorizing you as Commander of them in Chief, to arm, array, divide, diſtribute, diſpoſe, conduct, lead, and govern in Chief the ſaid Forces, according to your beſt Diſcretion; and with the ſaid Forces, to reſiſt, purſue, follow, apprehend, and put to death, ſlay, and kill, as well by battle as other ways, all and ſingular the ſaid Conſpirators, Traitors and their Adherents, according to your Diſcretion; and according to your Conſcience and Diſcretion to proceed againſt them, or any of them, by Martial Law, by hanging them or any of them till they be dead, according as it hath been accuſtomed in time of open Rebellion; and alſo to take, waſte, and ſpoil their, or any of their Caſtles, Holds, Forts, Houſes, Goods, and Territores, or otherwiſe to preſerve the Lives of them, or any of them, and to receive them into his Majeſty's Favour and Mercy, and to forbear the Devaſtation of their, or any of their Caſtles, Forts, Houſes, Holds, Goods, and Territories aforementioned, according to your Diſcretion: Further hereby requiring and authorizing you to do, execute, and perform all and ſingular ſuch other things for Examination of Perſons ſuſpected, diſcovery of Traitors and their Adherents, parlying with, and granting Protections to them, or any of them, taking up of Carts, Carriages, and other Conveniencies, ſending and retaining Eſpials, victualling the ſaid Forces, and other things whatſoever conducing to the purpoſe aforementioned, as you in your Diſcretion ſhall think fit, and the neceſſity of the ſervice require; further hereby requiring and authorizing you, as Commander in Chief, to conſtitute and appoint ſuch Officers and Miniſters reſpectively, for the better Performance and Execu-*

tion

tion of all and ſingular the Premiſes, as you in your Diſcretion ſhall think fit. And We do hereby Require and Command, all and ſingular his Majeſty's Sheriffs, Officers, and Miniſters, and loving Subjects, of and within the County of Meath, *and the Borders thereof, upon their Faith and Allegiance to his Majeſty, and to his Crown, to be aiding, helping, and aſſiſting to you, in the doing, and executing of all and ſingular the Premiſſes; This our Commiſſion to continue during our pleaſure only, and for the ſo doing this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant.* 1641.

Given at his Majeſty's Caſtle of *Dublin*, *November* 1641.

R. Dillon, *Jo. Temple*,
Ja. Ware, *Rob. Meredith*.

To our very good Lord *Nicholas*
Vic. Com. *Gormanſtone*.

In theſe Commiſſions it is very obſervable, that there was power given to theſe Lords and Gentlemen to whom they were directed, not only to uſe Fire and Sword, for the deſtruction of the Rebels and their Adherents, but alſo to preſerve the Lives of any of them, to receive them, or any of them into his Majeſty's Favour or Mercy. This plainly ſhews the very great Confidence the Lords were pleaſed to repoſe in them; as alſo their deſires to make them Inſtruments, to deliver thoſe multitudes of People that engaged themſelves in this Rebellion, from the power, either of his Majeſty's Arms, or Civil Juſtice. They intended nothing but the reducing of a rebellious Nation; and they at the firſt applied Lenitives, which failing in the Cure, they were afterwards then enforced to have recourſe to more violent Medicines.

Arms and Munition delivered out to the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, by the Lords Juſtices and Council.

That theſe Governours thus conſtituted, might be the better enabled according to the Authority and Power given unto them by their ſeveral Commiſſions, to undertake the defence of the Country in this high extremity of the near approaching Dangers. The Lords took order to have delivered unto them a certain proportion of Arms, to be imployed for the arming of ſome Men to be raiſed in each County for the common ſafety, beſides the Arms they gave them, and other Gentlemen, for the defence of their own private Houſes. As to the Lord of *Gormanſtone*, there were delivered Arms for five hundred Men, for the County of *Meath*. There were alſo delivered Arms for three hundred Men for the County of *Kildare*. Arms for three hundred Men for the County of *Lowth*. Arms for three hundred Men for the County of *Weſt-Meath*. Arms for three hundred Men for the County of *Dublin*. And about the ſame time there were ſent down four hundred Muskets, to the Lords of the

1641. the *Ardes* and *Clandeboys*, for the Arming of the *Scots* in the County of *Downe*. All of theſe had Powder, Lead, and Match, proportionable to their Arms, at the ſame time delivered unto them.

Several Counties within the Province of *Leinſter* declare themſelves for the Rebels.

But now the poiſon of this Rebellion which had hitherto contained it ſelf within the Northern Counties, and the confines of them, began to be diffuſed into other parts of the Kingdom. It had already infected the Counties of *Letrim*, *Longford*, *Weſt-Meath*, and *Lowth*, lying contiguous unto them. And upon the 12th of *November*, the *Iriſh* in the County of *Wicklow* brake out moſt furiouſly, Deſpoiling, Robbing and Murthering all the *Engliſh* Inhabitants within that territory. They burnt all their fair well-built houſes, drove away their Cattle, and laid Siege to Fort *Carew*, wherein was a foot Company of the old Army. The News being brought to the Lords Juſtices thereof, they well conſidered the importance of the place, and that if it were in the hands of the Rebels, and that whole County in their poſſeſſion, they could expect little quietneſs, or even ſafety in the City, by reaſon of their near neighbourhood. Whereupon they were moſt deſirous to have ſent down forces for the relief of it. But when they came on the other ſide to conſider their want of means for the performance of that ſervice, that they had no money, but few men, and many of them not fit to be truſted; that it would be very dangerous to divide their ſmall forces, and ſo to leave the City in a manner unguarded, they were enforced to lay aſide that reſolution, and with great grief to ſit ſtill and ſuffer the poor *Engliſh* in thoſe parts to be expos'd to the mercileſs cruelties of thoſe barbarous Rebels who went on furiouſly with the work, and quickly clear'd all that County of the *Engliſh* Inhabitants. Within few Days after, the *Iriſh* in the Counties of *Wexford* and *Caterlagh* began to riſe likewiſe, and to follow the bloody Examples of their neighbours. There were now alſo great appearances of the diſloyalty of the County of *Kildare*, who with large proteſtations under the pretence of doing Service, had got into their hands the Arms and Munition deſigned for them by the State. And ſo myſterious and doubtful was the carriage of the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Engliſh Pale*, giving no manner of Intelligence to the State of the proceedings of the Rebels, nor making any kind of preparatives againſt them, as their inſections began even then to be juſtly ſuſpected.

The ſad condition of the City of *Dublin*.

So as the City of *Dublin* being the receptacle of the whole State, the Magazine of all the Arms, Munition, and other proviſions for the army, and the chief ſanctuary of all the *Engliſh* and *deſpoiled Proteſtants*, was now reduced to a very ſad Condition, deſperately encompaſſed on every ſide, the Northern Rebels being come down in two ſeveral Parties with great Forces, within twenty miles of it on the one Side, and the Rebels of the County of *Wicklow* infeſting it on the other Side: which with the great

reſort

eſort of Strangers, and the continual Rumours of new Plots and Devices to ſurpriſe the Town, poſſeſſed the Proteſtants with extraordinary Fears of their preſent danger. But that which made their Condition appear much more formidable unto them, was the daily repair of multitudes of *Engliſh* that came up in Troops, ſtripped and miſerably deſpoiled, out of the North. Many Perſons of good Rank and Quality, cover'd over with old Rags, and ſome without any other covering than a little twiſted Straw to hide their Nakedneſs. Some reverend Miniſters, and others that had eſcap'd with their Lives, ſorely wounded. Wives came bitterly lamenting the Murders of their Husbands; Mothers of their Children, barbarouſly deſtroyed before their Faces, poor Infants ready to periſh and pour out their Souls in their Mothers boſom: Some over-wearied with long Travel, and ſo ſurbated, as they came creeping on their knees; others frozen up with cold, ready to give up the Ghoſt in the Streets: others over-whelm'd with Grief, diſtracted with their Loſſes, loſt alſo their Senſes. 1641.

The reſort of Men, Women and Children to the City of *Dublin*, in a moſt miſerable poſture.

Thus was the Town, within the compaſs of a few days after the breaking out of this Rebellion, filled with theſe moſt lamentable Spectacles of Sorrow, which in great numbers wandred up and down in all parts of the City, deſolate, forſaken, having no place to lay their heads on, no Cloathing to cover their Nakedneſs, no Food to fill their hungry Bellies. And to add to their Miſeries, they found all manner of Relief very diſproportionable to their Wants, the Popiſh Inhabitants refuſing to miniſter the leaſt Comfort unto them; ſo as thoſe ſad Creatures appeared like living Ghoſts in every Street. Many empty Houſes in the City, were by ſpecial direction taken up for them: Barns, Stables, and Out-Houſes filled with them, yet many lay in the open Streets, and others under Stalls, and there moſt miſerably periſhed. The Churches were the common Receptacles of the meaner ſort of them, who ſtood there in a moſt doleful Poſture, as Objects of Charity, in ſo great multitudes, as there was ſcarce any Paſſage into them. But thoſe of better quality, who could not frame themſelves to be common Beggars, crept into private Places; and ſome of them, that had not private Friends to relieve them, even waſted ſilently away, and ſo died without noiſe. And ſo bitter was the Remembrance of their former Condition, and ſo inſupportable the Burthen of their preſent Calamity to many of them, as they even refuſed to be comforted. I have known of ſome that lay almoſt naked, and having Cloathes ſent, laid them by, refuſing to put them on. Others that would not ſtir to fetch themſelves Food, though they knew where it ſtood ready for them. But they continued to lie naſtily in their filthy Rags, and even their own Dung, not taking care to have any thing clean, handſome or comfortable about them. And ſo even worn out with the

1641. the miſery of the Journey and cruel Uſage, having their Spirits ſpent, their Bodies waſted, and their Senſes failing, lay here pitifully languiſhing; and ſoon after they had recovered this Town, very many of them died, leaving their Bodies as Monuments of the moſt inhuman Cruelties uſed towards them. The greateſt part of the Women and Children thus barbarouſly expelled out of their Habitations, periſhed in the City of *Dublin*: And ſo great numbers of them were brought to their Graves, as all the Church-Yards within the *whole Town* were of too narrow a compaſs to contain them. So as the Lords took Order to have two large pieces of new ground, one on each ſide the River, taken in upon the Out-Greens, and ſet a-part for Burying-Places. Theſe were the memorable Spectacles of Mercy, and of the great Commiſeration the Rebels uſed to thoſe *Engliſh*, to whom they gave their Lives for a Prey. But what their Sufferings were, before they could get out of the hands of thoſe bloody Villains, what ſtrange horrid Inventions they uſed towards them, torturing and maſſacring thoſe they there murder'd, is reſerved to be more fully related in its proper place. They are left upon record to Poſterity, under the Oaths of many that eſcaped, and mentioned here to no other purpoſe, than to ſhew the ſtrange Horrour and Amazement the beholding of them bred in all the *Engliſh* and Proteſtant Inhabitants of the City. They ſeeing the Rebels prevail ſo mightily, expected if they continued here to be undoubtedly expoſed to the ſame Cruelties. And they now underſtood by thoſe who were come up from among them, that their deſign was, as ſoon as they had taken in *Tredagh*, to come and ſeize upon the City and Caſtle of *Dublin*, and ſo make a general Extirpation of all the *Engliſh*, Root and Branch, not to leave them Name or Poſterity throughout the whole Kingdom.

The fears and diſtractions within the City of *Dublin*.

It is eaſy to conjecture what a ſad confuſed Countenance the City then had: What Fears, Terrour, and Aſtoniſhment, the miſerable Spectacles within, and the Approaches of the Rebels without, raiſed in the Minds of an affrighted, diſtracted People. The *Engliſh* Inhabitants looked upon all the horrid Cruelties exerciſed abroad, all the Calamities and Deſolations fallen upon their Country-men in other parts of the Kingdom, as arrived at theſe Gates, and now ready to enter: The Avenues all open, neither Hope nor Means, neither Rampiers nor Trenches to keep them out. Notwithſtanding the careful Travels and Endeavours uſed by the Lords Juſtices and Council to make proviſion for the common ſafety, no Money could be raiſed, few Men gotten together; the Papiſts well furniſhed with Arms cloſely concealed, and deſperately animated by their Prieſts to all manner of Miſchief: No Fortifications about the Suburbs, nor any manner of defence for the City, but an old ruinous Wall, part whereof fell down in the very height of theſe Diſtractions. And ſo careleſs

leſs were the Citizens, and ſo ſlowly went they about the making up that Breach, as under pretence of want of Money, they let it lie open till the Lords ſent unto them 40 *l.* towards the Reparation. All things tended to a ſudden Confuſion; the face of the very City was now changed, and had ſuch a ghaſtly aſpect, as ſeemed to portend her near approaching Ruin: The means of Safety appearing very ſlender and inconſiderable: The applications, by reaſon of the ſtrange *Averſions* of the *Popiſh Party*, of a very ſlow and weak Operation. Every Man began to conſider himſelf, and his own private Preſervation. Thoſe that lived in the Suburbs removed, with their Families, into the City. The Privy Counſellours and Perſons of Quality, into the Caſtle, which became a common Repoſitory of all things of Value. The Rolls were by ſpecial Order removed thither: The Records of ſeveral other Offices were likewiſe brought in. But upon the Rebels advance ſomewhat nearer, and their frequent Alarms, many of thoſe who had there taken Sanctuary, began to ſuſpect the Strength of thoſe old crazy Walls, and therefore to make ſure, reſolved to quit the Kingdom, imbarquing themſelves and their Goods with all poſſible ſpeed. Some who were detained with contrary Winds in the Harbour, choſe rather to endure all Extremities on Shipboard, then to hazard themſelves a-ſhoar again. The *Scottiſh* Fiſhermen, who lay with their Boats in great numbers within the Bay, fiſhing for Herrings, having, with much forwardneſs, made an offer to the State, to bring five hundred of their Men a-ſhoar to be put in Arms and do preſent Service (a Propoſition at that ſeaſon moſt acceptable) were ſo ſtrangely affrighted one Evening with a falſe Alarm, as that in the Night, on a ſudden, they put to Sea, and quite diſappeared on theſe Coaſts till the Year following. The Papiſts on the other ſide being moſt confident that the City would be taken and ſack'd by the Rebels, and fearing leſt happily they might be miſtaken in the Tumult and fierce Execution, removed themſelves and their Goods with the ſame ſpeed into the Country. And that which heightned the Calamity of the poor *Engliſh*, was their Flight in the Winter, in ſuch a diſmal, ſtormy, tempeſtuous Seaſon, as in the memory of Man had never been obſerved formerly to continue ſo long together. Yet the terrour of the Rebels incomparably prevailing beyond the rage of the Sea, moſt of thoſe who could provide themſelves of ſhipping, though at never ſo exceſſive Rates, deſerted the City: And ſuch was the violence of the Winds, ſuch continuing impetuous Storms, as ſeveral Barques were caſt away; ſome in three Months after their going from hence could recover no Port in *England*; and almoſt all that then put to Sea, were in great danger of periſhing. The Iniquities of the *Engliſh* Nation, which were very great in this Kingdom, were now full:

1641.

1641. full: Heaven and Earth ſeemed to conſpire together for the puniſhment of them. God certainly declared his high Indignation againſt them for their great Sins wherewith they had long continued to provoke him in this Land, and ſuffered theſe barbarous Rebels to be the Inſtruments of Miſchief and cruel Executioners of his fierce Wrath upon them. But *becauſe* they *have taken vengeance with a deſpiteful heart, to deſtroy them for the old hatred*; he will certainly in his own time *execute great vengeance upon them with furious rebukes*: As he threatned the *Philiſtians* in the like caſe.

Ezek. 25. 15, 17.



THE

The Particulars of the First

PLOT

OF THE

Irish Rebellion:

Together with a Brief Narration of the most Notorious Cruelties and Bloody Massacres, which ensued in several Parts of the Kingdom.

THUS we see what a great height this Rebellion was grown up unto, within the space of less than one Month, after the very first appearance of it: What horrid Murders, cruel Out-rages, and fearful Desolations it had already wrought in one Province, and what a powerful Operation the Cruelties there acted had upon other Parts. But before I pass further, or come to declare the universal Dilatation of it throughout the whole Kingdom, and how it pleased GOD even miraculously to bless the painful Endeavours of the State, in the Preservation of the CITY and CASTLE of *DUBLIN*, till the arrival of their long expected Succours out of *England*: I hold it not amiss to look back, and (as far as the late Discoveries and dark Glimmerings we

1641. Concerning the first Plot of the Rebellion.

1641. have into the first Plot will admit) to trace it up to the first beginning we find of it within this Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Who were the Plotters of it not yet clearly discovered.

Concerning the first Original of this great Conspiracy, as likewise the first Plotters and Contrivers of it, I must ingenuously confess, that I am my self much unsatisfied in the first Conceptions of this monstrous Birth, and therefore shall not now be able clearly to resolve others therein: I cannot yet determine who were the very first Contrivers, where the first Debates were entertained, or who first sate in Council about it. This, as all other Works of this Nature, had its Foundation laid in the dark, and sealed up no doubt with many execrable Oaths, the great Engines of these Times, to bind up the Consciences as well as the Tongues of Men from discovery: Besides, they knew well enough, that the Plot being most abominable in it self, to be carried on with such detestable Cruelty, should it take and be fully executed (which commonly gives to all other Treasons applause and highest commendation) would certainly render the first Authors, as well as the bloody Actors, most odious and execrable to all Posterity: Therefore it is not much to be wondred, that the first beginnings so mysterious and obscurely laid, remain as yet concealed with so great *Obstinacy:* But yet I am very confident, that upon view of several Examinations, any reasonable Man will conclude with me, that the very first Principles of this inhuman Conspiracy, were roughly drawn and hammered out of the **Romish Forge**, powerfully fomented by the Treachery and virulent Animosities of some of the *Irish* Natives, and so by degrees, by them moulded into that ugly shape wherein it first appeared: There certainly it received the first Life and Motion, whether at *Rome*, whether in *Ireland*, or in any other place, I cannot yet determine: But my meaning is, it was first hatched and set on foot by those most vigilant and industrious Emissaries, who are sent continually abroad by the power of that See with full Commission, *per fas & nefas*, to make way for the re-establishment of the *Romish Religion* in all parts where it hath been suppressed. Great numbers of these wicked Instruments (the Laws against all the *Romish Clergy*, being of late laid aside, and tacitely suspended execution) came over into *Ireland:* The main ground-work, and first prediſpositions to a Rebellion in general; were most undoubtedly with great Dexterity and Artifice laid by them; their venemous Infusion taking such deep roots in the Minds of a blind, ignorant, superstitious People, as made them ready for a change; the great ones mischievously to plot and contrive, the inferiour sort tumultuously to rise up and execute whatsoever they should command.

And if we will give credit to several Examinations taken, many of them from those of their own, we must believe the Plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland*, of a very ancient date, as well as of a large extent: It had been

been long in contriving, and howſoever, peradventure firſt thought on in *Ireland*, yet received large Contributions towards the conſummation out of *England* and other Foreign Parts. 1641.

The general Plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland* of an ancient date.

I have ſeen an Examination of one, who affirms he heard it confidently averred by *Malone* a Prieſt, one that ſtiled himſelf *Chaplain Major* within the *Pale*, that he himſelf had been ſeven Years imployed in bringing on this Plot to perfection, and that he had travelled into ſeveral Parts about it.

Mr. *Goldſmith*, a Miniſter in *Conaught*, told me, that he did, a full Year before the Rebellion broke out, receive a Letter from a Brother of his reſiding at *Bruſſels*, wherein he gave him notice thereof, though ſo obſcurely, as he well underſtood it not till afterwards.

Patrick O Bryan's Examination.

Patrick O Bryan, of the Pariſh of *Galloom*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, affirmeth upon Oath, that all the Nobles in the Kingdom that were Papiſts, had a hand in this Plot, as well as the Lord *Mac-Gwire*, *Hugh Oge*, and *Mac-Mahown*; that they expected aid out of *Spain* by *Owen Roe O Neal*; and that Colonel *Plunket*, one of thoſe that was to be an Actor in the ſurpriſe of the Caſtle of *Dublin*, told him, that he knew of this Plot eight Years ſince, and that within theſe three Years he hath been more fully acquainted with it.

Francis Sacheveril, Eſq; his Examination.

Francis Sacheveril, Eſq; hath depoſed, that at ſeveral times ſhortly after the beginning of this Rebellion, he hath heard four ſeveral Popiſh Prieſts, *viz.* *Hugh Rely* of the County of *Down*, *Edmund O Tunnah* of the County of *Armagh*, *Morice Mac-Credan* of the County of *Tyrone*, and *James Hallegan* of the County of *Armagh*, ſay, That the Prieſts, Jeſuits and Fryars of *England*, *Ireland*, *Spain*, and other Countries beyond the Seas, were the Plotters, Projectors and Contrivers of this Rebellion and Inſurrection, and that they have been theſe ſix Years in agitation and preparation of the ſame; and that the ſaid Prieſts did then expreſs a kind of Joy that the ſame was brought to ſo good effect: He alſo further depoſeth, That at ſeveral times *Ever Boy Mac-Gennis* in the County of *Down*, Gent. and *Hugh O Hagan* in the County of *Armagh*, Gent. did brag and ſay, That they doubted not but that they ſhould ſhortly conquer the *Engliſh* in the Kingdom, and enjoy the ſame quietly to themſelves, and that they would not reſt ſo content, but they would raiſe ſtrong Armies to invade and conquer *England*. *Roger Moore*, one of the prime Conſpirators, told Mr. *Colely*, then Priſoner with him, that the Plot had been in framing ſeveral Years, and ſhould have been executed ſeveral times, but they were ſtill hindred. By Letters ſent from *Rome* to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and the Lord *Mac-Gwire*, which were intercepted and brought to the Lord *Parſons*, though the Fryar that writ them doth not expreſs any certain Knowledge of this very Plot; yet thus much appears by them, that they had long deſired to hear of the riſing of the *Iriſh*; that the News of Sir *Phelim*

O Neal's

1641. *O Neal*'s taking Arms was very acceptable to the Pope and his two Cardinal Nephews, assuring him of all Assistance from thence; and further, desiring him to send an Agent to *Rome*, and to imploy several Persons of his own Nation, whom he there named, then residing at *Madrid*, *Paris*, and with the Emperour, they being fit Instruments, and such as he might make use of for the procuring Succours from those Princes whom he assured him would join to give him all Assistance in this Action.

The *Irish* have had it long in design to shake off the *English* Government.

Besides these, we have very many other presumptions that the *Irish*, since they found their own strength, and that they were able to draw together so great numbers of Men, as their several *Septs* so strangely multiplied during the late Peace, can now afford, have long had it in design to shake off the *English* Government, to settle the whole power of the State in the hands of the Natives, and to re-possess them of all the Lands now enjoyed by the *British* throughout the Kingdom: And that in this Plot they did but go about to actuate those confused general Notions, and to put them in a way of execution. Now they supposed there could never be offered unto them a fairer opportunity than this most unhappy conjuncture of the Affairs of *Great-Britain*, when *Scotland* lately in Arms, had by their own power and wise management, drawn his Majesty to condescend to their entire satisfaction, as well in their Church-Discipline, as the Liberties of that Kingdom. And in *England*, the Distractions being grown to some height, through the great misunderstanding betwixt the King and his Parliament, *Ireland* was at this time left naked and unregarded, the Government in the hands of Justices, the old Army dispersed in places of so great distance, as it could be of little advantage, the common Soldiers most of them *Irish*, and all the old Commanders and Captains, except some few, worn out and gone: This, as the first Plotters thought, was the time to work out their own ends; and masking their perfidious Designs under the publick pretences of Religion, and the defence of his Majesty's Prerogative, they let loose the Reins of their own vindictive Humour and irreconcileable Hatred to their *British* Neighbours.

I will not presume to say, they knew what would fall out in *England*, or what miserable Embroilments that Kingdom was ready to break out into; for undoubtedly the first Plot was laid, and most exactly formed, many Months before the War broke out between the King and his People. But thus much I shall be bold to affirm, that upon the very first breaking out of this Rebellion, they did strangely conjecture, and beyond all appearance of Reason, even somewhat positively Divine, of the dismal Breach and fearful Distempers which afterwards follow'd to the disabling of the Kingdom of *England* from applying Remedies towards the reducement of *Ireland*. For the Attestation of this Truth, I could produce the general

general concurrence of ſeveral circumſtances, many private Diſcourſes and Advertiſements, as alſo a particular Letter which I had long by me, written as it ſeems, from a very intelligent Papiſt, a great Zealot in the Cauſe, unto a Nephew of Sir *Toby Matthews*, then in *Dublin*, who tho' lately Converted, retained yet a great Friendſhip among them. He tells him in the beginning of the Letter; *That he was deſired from ſome well wiſhing Friends, to adviſe him, as he tendred his Safety and Security, upon the ſight of thoſe, inſtantly to forſake and abandon that Troubleſome and moſt Unfortunate Kingdom, for God and Man had ſpeedily reſolved to Afflict and Puniſh the over-grown Impieties of theſe prophane Times, all Hearts and Hands happily Conſpiring to it; and that he ſhould be as ſpeedy in his paſſage as was poſſible, and rather, as the caſe ſtood, hazard all dangers by Sea, then the leaſt at Land, to be ſure not to ſtop in* England, *eſpecially at* London, *that ſink of Sin* (as he calls it) *and center of Diſorders, for by that time he arrived there, he ſhould be ſure to find nothing but Troubles, Factions and deſperate Diſtempers; that he ſhould diſpatch therefore for* Paris, *or rather* Bruſſels, *where there ſhould be order taken for the removal of all miſtakes betwixt him and his Uncle.* This Letter was written about the beginning of *November*, 1641, which was ſome few Days after the breaking out of this Rebellion, and full ſix Months before the taking up of Arms in *England*. 1641.

Now for the very time when this great Plot received its firſt form, though I conceive it of ſomewhat a more ancient date, yet by all the Examinations I have hitherto ſeen, I can carry it up no higher than the Month of *January*, 1640, and that it was about that time communicated to ſome of the chief Gentlemen of *Ulſter*, the Lord *Mac-Guire* doth ſufficiently teſtify as well in the relation written with his own hand in the *Tower*, and delivered by him to Sir *John Coniers*, then Lieutenant, to be preſented to the Lords in Parliament, as alſo in his Examination taken before the Lord *Lambert* and Sir *Robert Meredith* Knight, in *Ireland*, March 26th, 1642. In both theſe he acknowledgeth, that he being in *Dublin*, in Candlemas Term, about the time when Mr. *John Bellew* came out of *England* with the Commiſſion for the continuance of the Parliament in *Ireland*; *Roger Moore* acquainted him, that if the *Iriſh* would riſe, they might make their own Conditions for the regaining of their Lands, and Freedom of their Religion; and further ſaith, that he had ſpoken with ſundry of *Leinſter* to that purpoſe, who would be ready to joyn with them, as likewiſe a good part of *Conaught*, and that he found all of them willing thereto, if ſo be they could draw to them the Gentlemen of *Ulſter*.

The Plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland* firſt diſcovered to the Lord *Mac-Guire* and others, about the time of Mr. *John Bellew's* return out of *England*, with Commiſſion to continue the Parliament in *Ireland*, which was in *Jan.* 1640.

Now for the manner of putting this Plot in Execution, the ſaid Lord *Mac-Guire*, doth further teſtify in his relation aforeſaid, that the ſaid

Roger

1641. *Roger Moore* having the next Day acquainted *Philip O Rely*, *Turlagh O Neal*, Brother to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, Maſter *Coſloe*, and *Mac-Mahon* herewith, did propoſe, that firſt, every one ſhould endeavour to draw his own Friends into that Act, at leaſt thoſe that did live in one Country with them; and that when they had ſo done, they ſhould ſend for the *Iriſh* in the *Low-Countries* and in *Spain*, to let them know of the Day and Reſolution, ſo that they might be over with them by that Day, or ſoon after, with ſupply of Arms and Munition; that there ſhould be a ſet Day appointed, and every one in his own Quarters ſhould riſe out that Day, and ſeize upon all the Arms he could get in his own County, and this Day to be near Winter, ſo that *England* could not be able to ſend Forces into *Ireland* before *May*, and by that time there was no doubt to be made, but that they themſelves would be ſupplied by the *Iriſh* from beyond the Seas. Then he told them further, that there was no doubt to be made of the *Iriſh* joyning with them, and that all the doubt was in the Gentlemen of the *Pale*; but he ſaid, for his own part, he was really aſſured, that when they had riſen out, the *Pale* Gentlemen would not ſtay long after, at leaſt they would not oppoſe any thing; and that in caſe they did, that they had Men enough in the Kingdom without them: Moreover, that he had ſpoken to a great Man (who then ſhould be nameleſs) who would not fail at the Day appointed, to appear and to be ſeen in the Act, but that till then he was ſworn not to reveal him, but yet that upon their importunity, he afterwards told them, it was the Lord of *Mayo*, who was very powerful in the Command of Men in thoſe Parts of *Conaught*, where he lived: He further ſaith, that in Lent following, Mr. *Moore*, according to his Promiſe, came into *Ulſter*, but that nothing was done there, but all matters put off till *May* following, where they met at *Dublin*, it being both Parliament and Term time, and that from thence they diſpatched one *Tooly Conley*, Pariſh Prieſt to Mr. *Moore*, to Colonel *O Neal*, in the Low-Countries, who within few Months after arrived with this anſwer from the ſaid Colonel, deſiring them not to delay any time in riſing out, but to let him know of the Day when they intended it, and that he would not fail to be with them within fourteen Days of that Day, with good aid, alſo deſiring them by any means to ſeize on the Caſtle of *Dublin* if they could. And further he ſaith, that during the time of theſe their private meetings, there landed at *Dublin*, Colonel *Birne*, Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Brian O Neal*, and others, who came with directions to carry Men away, and that theſe were acquainted with the Plot, and did offer their ſervice to bring it on, that they would raiſe their Men under colour to carry them into *Spain*, and then ſeize on the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and with the Arms found there, arm their Soldiers, and have them ready for any Action that ſhould be commanded them.

He

He further alſo ſaith, that they had divers private Conſultations about the carrying on of this Conſpiracy, not only at *Dublin*, but in ſeveral other Places in the Province of *Ulſter*, and that they had ſet down ſeveral Days for the putting of it in Execution, but meeting with ſome obſtacles did not come to conclude of the certain time till about the beginning of *September*; and that then they peremptorily reſolved on the 23d of *October*, for the Day to execute this long deſigned Plot in; and that they had reſpect unto the Day of the Week, which did fall on Saturday, being the Market-day, on which there would be the leſs notice taken of People up and down the Streets; that they then ſettled what numbers of Men ſhould be brought up out of the ſeveral Provinces for the ſurprize of the Caſtle, and what Commanders ſhould lead them on; that ſeeing the Caſtle had two Gates, that the *Leinſter* Men ſhould undertake to ſeize upon the little Gate, which lay neareſt to the place where the Arms and Munition was placed; and that the great Gate ſhould be undertaken by thoſe of *Ulſter*, and that Sir *Phelim O Neal* ſhould be there in Perſon; but that he excus'd himſelf, becauſe he reſolved at the ſame time to ſeize upon *London-derry*, and that thereupon by the importunity of the Undertakers, it was impos'd upon him the ſaid Lord *Mac-Guire*, to be there in Perſon at the taking of the Caſtle of *Dublin*. That it was further reſolved, what number of Forces ſhould be brought up out of the other Provinces, to make good thoſe places if poſſeſſed by them, and that Sir *James Dillon* did undertake to be there with a thouſand Men within four Days after the taking of the Caſtle; as alſo that it was reſolved that every one privy to that matter in every part of the Kingdom, ſhould riſe out that Day and ſeize on all the Forts and Arms in the ſeveral Counties; as likewiſe on all the Gentry, and make them Priſoners, the more to aſſure themſelves againſt any adverſe Fortune, and not to kill any, but where of neceſſity they ſhould be forced thereunto by oppoſition. Theſe particulars, together with many other circumſtances very conſiderable, are ſet down in the relation given in by the Lord *Mac-Guire*, while he remained Priſoner in the Tower of *London*; but I have thought fit to forbear to relate them at large, becauſe I find that relation publiſhed by Authority, and ſo preſented to the common view. We ſhall find alſo, that *Mac-Mahon* in his Examination taken when he was firſt apprehended by the Lords Juſtices and Council here, doth teſtify that all the chief of the Nobility and Gentry in this Kingdom were acquainted with the firſt Plot, and particularly, that all the Popiſh Party in the Committee ſent into *England*, as likewiſe in both Houſes of Parliament knew of it: In the Examination of *William Fitz-Gerald*, it is there affirmed, That Sir *Phelim O Neal* ſending for him five Days after his riſing in Arms, told him, what he did was by Directions and Conſent of the Prime Nobility and

1641.

1641. Gentry of the whole Kingdom; and that what he had done in the Northern parts, the ſame was executed at *Dublin*, and in all other Forts and Towns throughout *Ireland*: As being a Courſe reſolved upon among the Lords and Gentry, for the preſervation of his Majeſty's Prerogative, their own Religion and Liberties, againſt the *Puritan* Faction in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and that the Lord of *Gormanſtone* knew of this Plot while he was in *England*, is teſtified by Lieutenant Colonel *Read* in his Examination, as alſo by the Lord *Mac-Guire* in his relation; who ſaith that Colonel *Plunket* told him, that he being at *London*, had acquainted ſome of the *Iriſh* Committee, and particularly the Lord of *Gormanſtone*, with this Plot, and that they approved it well: Colonel *Plunket* in his Letter to Father *Patrick Barnwal*, Lord *Abbot* of *Melliſont* (as he ſtiles him) doth ſeem much to Glory in the means he had uſed to incite the Lords and Gentry of the Pale to appear in that bleſſed cauſe (as he terms it) and aſſures him that the Lord of *Gormanſtone*, whom he there calls Lord-General, will go bravely on.

The firſt contrivers of the Rebellion did not firſt openly appear in it.

And now it will be no difficult matter to reſolve what were the ſecondary ſteps and motions of this great Plot, as well as by what Perſons it was wrought out in *Ireland*, and carried on to the very point of Execution. And firſt it is to be obſerved, that howſoever Sir *Phelim O Neal*, the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, Colonel *Mac-Brian*, *Hugh Mac-Mahon* and their Adherents, chief of the *Iriſh* Septs in *Ulſter*, and other Counties near adjacent, did firſt appear upon the Stage, and by the bloody Execution, notoriouſly declare themſelves chief Actors in this horrid Tragedy: Yet this Rebellion was either altogether originally plotted by them, or moſt of them had but ſubordinate notions of it, and they as other of the chief Nobility and Gentry throughout the Kingdom, had ſeveral parts aſſigned them to act at ſeveral times, in ſeveral places, and did but move according to the firſt reſolutions taken, and ſuch directions as they had received from the firſt Conſpirators: I take it to be moſt probable, after the general Plot came to be reduced into form, that as the Lord of *Gormanſtone* was one of the firſt and chief movers in it, ſo he and the chief of the Pale joyned together to draw in (as they had done in all former Rebellions) the principal Septs of the old *Iriſh*, to engage themſelves, and to appear firſt in the buſineſs: And when they had joyned together, and ſo finely order'd the matter, as they had made it a general riſing, as Sir *Phelim O Neal* terms it, of all the *Catholicks* throughout the Kingdom, with the general Conſent of the prime Nobility and Gentry thereof; then, as it were with one general Voice, they ſounded forth from all the four Provinces of *Ireland* the ſame Language, they uſed the ſame Remonſtrances, and made the very ſame Pretences for their juſtification, they began the very ſelf-ſame courſe, firſt in ſtripping, then baniſhing

That the Lord *Gormanſtone* and ſome others of the *Engliſh* Pale, were engaged in the firſt Plot, is very probable.

miſhing and murdering the *Britiſh* and *Proteſtants*, only in the North, they drove on ſomewhat more furiouſly, and ſpilt much more innocent Blood, than in any of the other three Provinces: They agreed likewiſe in recalling their Commanders, all the four Provinces had their particular Emiſſaries abroad: Thoſe of *Leinſter* brought back Colonel *Preſton*, a Branch out of the Houſe of *Gormanſtone*, who had long lived with good reputation in *Flanders*, and him they made General of their Forces there; but of *Ulſter*, they ſent into *Flanders* likewiſe for *Owen Roe O Neal*, upon whom they conferred the ſame charge in that Province: The *Munſter* Men brought over *Garret Barry*, whom they made General of their Forces: And thoſe in *Conaught* drew back one of the *Burks*, to whom they gave the chief Command of ſuch Men as they were able to draw together for the advancement of the common Deſign: All theſe held a due correſpondency, and in all their Actions had a juſt concurrency towards the main end. 1641.

Roger Moore the chief Perſon imployed to make a conjunction between the meer *Iriſh* and the *Engliſh* for raiſing a Rebellion.

The great Inſtrument chiefly imployed in this Work of drawing the meer *Iriſh* into a firm Combination with the old *Engliſh* (as appears by the Lord *Mac-Gwire's* Relation before-mentioned) was *Roger Moore*, Eſq; a Perſon of broken Fortune, by deſcent meerly *Iriſh*, and iſſued out of the chief Family of the *O Moores* in the County of *Leax*, but by Intermarriages allied to ſome of the principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*: He treated with them about the Aſſociation; he firſt broke the Deſign to the Northern *Iriſh*; he was the Man that made ſeveral Journies in *Leinſter*, into *Ulſter* and *Conaught*: Sundry Meſſages were interchangeably ſent and returned the Summer before the breaking out of the Rebellion by his means and entercourſe between them: And all things were ſo ordered for their agreement, as they were to go hand in hand together; ſome of the principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*, as Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, and others, were deſigned to join with the Lord *Mac-Gwire*, *Mac-Mahon*, *Brian O Neal*, *Con O Neal*, *Hugh Birne*, for the ſurpriſe of his Majeſty's Caſtle of *Dublin*. *Cartan Major Domi* to *Owen O Neal* in *Flanders*, in his Examination taken *February* 1641. tells, among many other remarkable Paſſages, of ſeveral preparatives to this Rebellion; as that *Con O Neal*, Brother to *Daniel O Neal*, was ſent by *Owen O Neal* into *England*, and that while he reſided there he received Letters from the Preſident *Roſſe* (which was Sir *Phelim O Neal*) and that he aſſured him he went on very well in his Buſineſs; for *Brabant* and *Valence* were joined together, which, as he affirms, ſignified in thoſe Characters, *Ulſter* and *Leinſter*, and that he expected the coming of *Lewes Lenoy*, viz. *Daniel O Neal*: Beſides, as *James Talbot*, Eſq; teſtifies in his Letter of the 9th of *November* 1641. written to the Lords Juſtices out of the County of *Cavan*, that he underſtood from *Philip Mac-Mulmore O Rely*, that there were

1641. certain Covenants paſſed between the Lords of the *Pale* and the Northern *Iriſh*, for the advancing of the Rebellion; and that the Remonſtrance from the principal *Iriſh* in the County of *Cavan*, unto the Lords Juſtices and Council ſent by Dean *Jones*, and Mr. *Waldrone*, there then Priſoner, was framed in the *Pale* and brought unto the ſaid *Iriſh* by Colonel *Plunket*, one of their own: And this was in the very beginning of the Rebellion, long before any Jealouſies were entertained by the State of the adherence or conjunction of the old *Engliſh* with the *Iriſh*. What thoſe Covenants or Contracts were, I cannot ſay, but it is moſt certain, ſome there were, and ſome Covenants alſo entered into, between the Northern *Iriſh*, and the Lords and Gentlemen of the chief of both the other Provinces, as well as *Leinſter*, and theſe were ſigned with their Blood, as Doctor *Maxwell* teſtifies in his Examination, he heard Sir *Phelim O Neal* ſay on the 19th of *December* 1641. in his own Houſe, and in the hearing of Mr. *Joſeph Travers* and others: If the Lords and Gentlemen (meaning the Papiſts of other Provinces) then not in Arms, would not riſe, but leave him in the lurch for all, he would produce his Warrant, ſigned with their own hands and written in their own Blood, which ſhould bring them to the Gallows. And certainly, had there not been ſome very ſtrange and extraordinary Engagements, and more than I can well imagine, it had not been poſſible that ſo many Perſons of Quality, having great Poſſeſſions and many Children, ſhould have declared themſelves, after they ſaw the main part of the Plot for the ſurpriſe of the Caſtle of *Dublin* to fail, and the power of the Northern Rebels begin to decline, that the Parliament of *England* had with great alacrity and readineſs undertaken the War, and not only engaged themſelves to his Majeſty to ſend over powerful Supplies both out of *England* and *Scotland*, but by their publick Order of both Houſes, ſent over to the Lords Juſtices, and printed at *Dublin* in the Month of *November*, fully declared their Reſolutions for the vigorous Proſecution of the War of *Ireland*: Nay, the Cities of *Galway* and *Limerick*, kept their Deſigns very covertly, not doing any open Acts of Hoſtility, till after the arrival of ſome Forces at *Dublin* out of *England*, and that the Siege of *Drogheda* or *Tredagh* was raiſed, and thoſe bold perfidious Traytors beaten back into the North, the Lords of the *Pale* baniſhed by force of his Majeſty's Arms out of their own Habitations, which were all ſpoiled and laid waſte.

Now that then they ſhould declare themſelves, is more than a Miracle to me, and ſuch a Myſtery, as I ſhould not know what to think of, but that I find in the Lord *Mac-Gwire*'s Relation before-mentioned, that they were acquainted with the firſt beginnings of this great Plot, and had a particular Intereſt from time to time in the carriage of it on, ſo as I think I ſhall not wrong them poſitively to determine, that they were

were too deeply engaged ſlightly to retire: And that howſoever upon the failing of it in the main piece, they at firſt ſtood at a gaze, and were put to take up ſecond Counſels; yet ſuch was the ſtrength of the Conſpiracy, and their great confidence in the power of their Arms, as made them appear in due time to entertain their ſeveral Aſſignations, and act their parts with great Diligence and Induſtry. The Wife of *Philip O Rely*, in the County of *Cavan*, told *James Talbot* (as he openly related it to the Lords Juſtices at the Council-Board) that ſhe wondred very much the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale* did not riſe and join with them in the very beginning of this Rebellion, adding theſe words, or to this effect; *That if they would let us alone, and not ſet us on, we were ſo well at eaſe, as we would never have begun this troubleſome Work.* It cannot certainly be imagined, that thoſe of the *Engliſh* Pale (unleſs they had been the firſt Projectors, or deep Adventurers) would have yielded that the meer *Iriſh* ſhould have ſeized upon the City and Caſtle of *Dublin*, places of Refuge for them in all former Troubles, and which would now have given them Protection and Safety againſt the Incurſions of the *Iriſh*. 1641.

The *Romiſh* Clergy and the *Popiſh* Lawyers, great Inſtruments in the firſt plotting and carrying on the Rebellion.

But I hold it not neceſſary to produce further Evidence in this particular; I purpoſe now to declare how thoſe great Inſtruments of Miſchief, that were the ſupream Conductors of this wicked Deſign, mov'd forwards ſo ſucceſsfully in the beginning, toward the accompliſhment of their long intended Extirpation of all the *Britiſh* and *Proteſtants* out of the Kingdom. I find two ſorts of Perſons who did moſt eminently appear in laying thoſe main Fundamentals whereupon their bloody Superſtructures were afterwards eaſily reared up: And theſe were ſuch of the Popiſh Lawyers as were Natives of the Kingdom, and thoſe of the Romiſh Clergy of ſeveral Degrees and Orders. For the firſt, they had in regard of their Knowledge of the Laws of the Land, very great Reputation and Truſt, they now began to ſtand up like great Patriots for the vindication of the Liberties of the Subject, and redreſs of their pretended Grievances, and having by their bold appearing therein, made a great Party in the Houſe of Commons, here then ſitting, ſome of them did there magiſterially obtrude, as undoubted Maxims of Law, the pernicious Speculations of their own Brain, which though plainly diſcerned to be full of Virulency, and tending to Sedition, yet ſo ſtrangely were many of the Proteſtants and well meaning Men in the Houſe blinded with an apprehenſion of Eaſe and Redreſs, and ſo ſtupified with their bold Accuſations of the Government, as moſt thought not fit, others durſt not ſtand up to contradict their fond Aſſertions; ſo as what they ſpake was received with great Acclamation, and much Applauſe by moſt of the Proteſtant Members of the Houſe; many of which, under ſpecious Pre-

The *Iriſh* Lawyers draw a great Party in the Houſe of Commons to adhere to them.

tences

1641. tences of publick Zeal to this Country, they had inveigled into their Party: And then it was, that having impeached Sir *Richard Bolton*, Lord Chancellour of *Ireland*, of High-Treason, together with other prime Officers and Ministers of State that were of *Engliſh* Birth, ſome of thoſe great Maſters took upon them with much confidence to declare the Law, to make new Expoſitions of their own upon the Text, to frame their *Queries*, Challenges fitter to be taken to a long, wilfully, over-grown Miſgovernment, than to be made againſt an Authority, that had for many Years ſtruggled againſt the beloved Irregularities of a ſtubborn People, and which had prevailed far beyond former times, towards the allaying of the long continued Diſtempers of the Kingdom: They diſdain'd the moderate Qualifications of the Judges, who gave them modeſt Anſwers, ſuch as the Law and Duty to their Sovereign would admit. But thoſe would not ſerve their turn, they reſolved upon an alteration in the Government, and drawing of it wholly into the hands of the Natives, which they knew they could not compaſs in a parliamentary way, and therefore only made preparatives there, and delivered ſuch deſperate Maxims, which being diffuſed abroad would fit and diſpoſe the People to a change: As they declared it to be Law, That being killed in Rebellion, though found by matter of Record, would give the King no Forfeiture of Eſtates: That though many thouſands ſtood up in Arms in a Kingdom, working all manner of deſtruction, yet if they profeſſed not to riſe againſt the King, that it was no Rebllion: That if a Man were Out-lawed for Treaſon, and his Land thereby veſted in the Crown, or given away by the King, his Heir might come afterwards and be admitted to reverſe the Out-lawry, and recover his Anceſtor's Eſtate. And many other Poſitions of a perilous Conſequence, tending to Sedition and Diſturbance, did they continue to publiſh during that Seſſion, and by the power and ſtrength of their Party, ſo far did they prevail at laſt, as they preſumed to attempt a Suſpenſion of *Poyning*'s Act, and indeed intended the utter Abrogation of that Statute, which remains as one of the greateſt Ties and beſt Monuments the *Engliſh* have of their intire Dominion over the *Iriſh* Nation, and the annexion of that Kingdom to the Imperial Crown of *England*. They further aſſumed Power of Judicature to the Parliament in criminal and capital Offences: A Right which no former Age hath left any Precedent for, neither would this admit the Example.

And thus carrying all things before them, they continued the Seſſion of Parliament begun in *May*, till about two Months before the firſt breaking out of this Rebellion; it being very ill taken, that even then they were adjourned. And this they have ſince aggravated as a high Crime againſt the Lords Juſtices, and as one of the chief moving Cauſes to the taking up of Arms generally throughout the Kingdom.

But

But to let those things pass, how finely soever these proceedings were carried on, and being covered over with pretences of Zeal and publick Affection, passed then currant without any manner of suspicion; yet now the eyes of all Men are opened, and they are fully resolved that all these passages, together with the other high contestations in Parliament, not to have the newly raised *Irish* Army disbanded, the importunate solicitation of their Agents in *England*, to have the old Army in *Ireland* cashiered, and the Kingdom left to be defended by Trained Bands of their own Nation; as likewise the Commissions procured by several of the most eminent Commanders now in Rebellion, for the raising Men to carry into *Spain*, were all parts of this Plot, Prologues to this ensuing Tragedy, Preparatives, such as had been long laid, to bring on the suddain execution of this most bloody design, all at one and the same time throughout the Kingdom.

The means used by the Priests and Jesuits to stir up the people to rebel.

Now for the Jesuits, Priests, Friers, and all the rest of the viperous fraternity belonging to their holy Orders; who, as I said, had a main part to Act, and have not failed with great assiduity and diligence to discharge the same. They lost no time, but most dexterously applied themselves in all parts of the Country to lay such other dangerous impressions in the Minds, as well of the meaner sort as of the chief Gentlemen, as might make them ready to take fire upon the first occasion. And when this Plot was so surely, as they thought, laid, as it could not well fail, and the Day once prefixed for Execution, they did in their publick Devotions long before, recommend by their Prayers, the good success of a great Design, much tending to the prosperity of the Kingdom, and the advancement of the Catholick cause. And for the facilitating of the Work, and stirring up of the People with greater animosity and cruelty to put it on at the time prefixed; they loudly in all places declaimed against the Protestants, telling the People that they were Hereticks, and not to be suffered any longer to live among them; that it was no more sin to kill an *Englishman*, than to kill a dog; and that it was a most mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect any of them. Then also they represented with much acrimony the severe courses taken by the Parliament in *England*, for the suppressing of the *Romish* Religion in all parts of the Kingdom, and utter extirpation of all professors of it. They told the People that in *England* they had caused the Queen's Priest to be hanged before her own face, and that they held her Majesty in her own Person under a most severe Discipline: That the same cruel Laws against Popery were here ordered to be put suddainly in execution; and a design secretly laid for bringing and seizing upon all the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in *Ireland* upon the 23d of *November* next ensuing, and so to make a general Massacre of all that would not desert their Religion and presently become Protestants. And

1641. And now also did they take occasion to revive their inveterate hatred and ancient animosities against the *English* Nation, whom they represented to themselves as hard Masters; under whose Government, how pleasant, comfortable and advantageous soever it was, they would have the World believe they had endured a most miserable captivity and envassalage. They looked with much envy upon their prosperity, considering all the Land they possessed (though a great part bought at high rates of the Natives) as their own proper inheritance. They grudged at the great multitudes of their fair *English* Cattle; at their goodly Houses, though built by their own industry at their own charges; at the large improvements they made of their Estates, by their own travels and careful endeavours. They spake with much scorn and contempt of such as brought little with them into *Ireland*, and having there planted themselves, in a little time contracted great fortunes: They were much troubled, especially in the *Irish* Countries to see the *English* live handsomely, and to have every thing with much decency about them, while they lay nastily buried, as it were, in mire and filthiness; the ordinary sort of People commonly bringing their Cattle into their own stinking Creates, and there naturally delighting to lie among them. These malignant considerations made them with an envious eye impatiently to look upon all the *British* lately come over into the Kingdom. Nothing less than a general extirpation will now serve their turn; they must have restitution of all the Lands to the proper Natives, whom they take to be the ancient proprietors, and only true owners, most unjustly despoiled by the *English*, whom they hold to have made undue acquisitions of all the Land they possess by gift from the Crown, upon the attainder of any of their Ancestors.

The *Irish* revive their ancient animosities against the *English*.

And so impetuous were the desires of the Natives to draw the whole Government of the Kingdom into their own hands, to enjoy the publick profession of their Religion, as well as to disburden the Country of all the *British* Inhabitants seated therein, as they made the whole body of the State to be universally disliked; represented the several members as Persons altogether corrupt and ill affected; pretended the ill humours and distempers in the Kingdom to be grown to that height as required Cauteriers, deep incisions; and indeed nothing able to work so great a cure, but an universal Rebellion. This was certainly the disease, as appears by all the symptoms, and the joynt concurrence in opinion of all the great Physicians that held themselves wise enough to propose remedies, and prescribe fit applications to so desperate a Malady. In those Instructions privately sent over into *England* by the Lord *Dillon* of *Costeloz*, presently after the breaking out of the Rebellion, the alteration of the Supream power in the government and settling of it in the hands of the

The ends proposed by the first plotters of the rebellion.

Earl

Earl of *Ormonde*, giving leave to the Grand Council of the Kingdom to remove ſuch Officers of State, as they thought fit, and to recommend Natives to their Places, were there poſitively laid down to be a more likely means to appeaſe theſe Tumults than a conſiderable Army. In the Remonſtrance of the County of *Longford*, preſented about the ſame time to the Lords Juſtices, by the ſame Lord *Dillon*, as alſo in the frame of the Common-wealth, found at Sir *John Dungar's* Houſe, not far from *Dublin*, and ſent up thither out of *Conaught* to be Communicated to thoſe of *Leinſter*; pieces which publickly appeared ſoon after the breaking out of the Rebellion; the points inſiſted upon in them and ſeveral others, were reſtauration of the publick Profeſſion of the *Romiſh* Religion; reſtitution of all the Plantation-lands unto the Natives, and ſettlement of the preſent Government in their hands. All the Remonſtrances from ſeveral parts, and that came out of the ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom do concur in theſe Propoſitions, with very little or no difference. And therefore that the deſires with the firſt intentions of thoſe who are now out in Rebellion, may more clearly appear; I have thought fit here to inſert them as I found them, methodically digeſted into certain Propoſitions, termed, 1641.

The true cauſes of the rebellion.

The Means to reduce this Kingdom unto Peace and Quietneſs.

1. *THat a general and free pardon, without any exception, be granted to all his Majeſty's Subjects of this Kingdom; and that in purſuance thereof, and for ſtrengthening the ſame, an Act of Abolition may paſs in the Parliament here.*

2. *That all marks of national diſtinctions between* Engliſh *and* Iriſh *may be aboliſhed and taken away by Act of Parliament.*

3. *That by ſeveral Acts of Parliament to be reſpectively paſſed here and in* England, *it be declared that the Parliament of* Ireland *hath no ſubordination with the Parliament of* England, *but that the ſame hath in it ſelf Supream Juriſdiction in this Kingdom, as abſolute as the Parliament of* England *there hath.*

4. *That the Act of* 12*th* Henry *the ſeventh, commonly called* Poynings *Act, and all other Acts expounding or explaining the ſame, may be repealed.*

5. *That as in* England *there paſt an Act for a Triennial Parliament, there may paſs in* Ireland *another for a Sexennial Parliament.*

6. *That it may be enacted by Parliament, that the Act of the* 2*d of Queen* Elizabeth *in* Ireland; *and all other Acts made againſt Catholicks, or the Catholick*

1641. tholick Religion, ſince the twentieth year of King Henry the eighth, may be repealed.

7. That the Biſhopricks, Deanries, and all other ſpiritual promotions of this Kingdom, and all Frieries and Nunneries, may be reſtored to the Catholick owners, and likewiſe all impropriations of Tythes, and that the Scits, Ambits, and precincts of the Religious Houſes of the Monks, may be reſtored to them; but as to the reſt of their temporal poſſeſſions, it is not deſigned to be taken from the preſent proprietors, but to be left to them until God ſhall otherwiſe incline their own hearts.

8. That ſuch as are now entituled Catholick Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, or other Dignitaries in this Kingdom by donation of the Pope, may, during their lives, enjoy their ſpiritual promotions; with proteſtation nevertheleſs, and other fit clauſes to be laid down for preſervation of his Majeſty's rights of Patronages, Firſt-fruits, and Twentieth-parts in manner and quantity, as now his Highneſs receives benefit thereby.

9. That all inquiſitions taken ſince the Year 1634, to entitle his Majeſty to Conaught, Thomond, Ormonde, Eliogarty, Kilnemanagh, Duheara, Wicklow, and Idvagh, may be vacuated, and their eſtates ſecured, according to his Majeſty's late Graces.

10. That an Act of Parliament may paſs here for the ſecuring the Subjects title to their ſeveral Eſtates againſt the Crown, upon any title accrewed unto it before 60 Years, or under colour or pretext of the preſent commotions.

11. That all Plantations made ſince the Year 1610 may be avoided by Parliament, if the Parliament ſhould hold it juſt, and their poſſeſſions reſtored to them or their Heirs, from whom the ſame were taken, they nevertheleſs anſwering to the Crown the Rents and Services proportionable, reſerved upon the undertakers.

12. That the tranſportation of all native Commodities to all places of the World in Peace with his Majeſty, may be free and lawful, his Cuſtoms firſt paid, and that the Statutes of 10, 11, and 13, of Queen Elizabeth, for reſtraining the Exportation of native Commodities be repealed.

13. That all Preferments Eccleſiaſtical, Civil and Martial in this Kingdom, that lie in his Majeſty's gift, may be conferred on Natives of this Kingdom only, ſuch as his Majeſty ſhall think meet, without any diſtinction for Religion, provided always that upon the Princes of his blood of England, he may beſtow what Places he ſhall think meet.

14. That a Marſhal and Admiral of this Kingdom may be elected in it, to have perpetual ſucceſſion therein with the ſame Preheminence, Authority and Juriſdiction as they reſpectively have in England, and that the ſaid places be ever conferred upon Noblemen, Natives of this Kingdom.

15. That there may be Trained Bands in all Cities, Towns Corporate, and Counties of this Kingdom, Armed and Provided at the charge of the ſeveral Counties,

Counties, Cities, and Towns, and Commanded by the Natives of the ſame, who ſhall be named by the Counties, Cities and Towns reſpectively. 1641.

16. *That his Majeſty may releaſe all Tenures in* Capite, *and by Knight-ſervice; in conſideration whereof, he ſhall receive a ſettled Revenue of* 120000*l.* per annum, *being double the Sum which he caſually receives by them; Reliefs, Seiſins, Licenſes for Alienations, Eſcuage and Aids nevertheleſs to remain.*

17. *That all Monopolies may be for ever taken away by Act of Parliament.*

18. *That ſuch new Corporations, as have not the face of Corporate Towns, and were erected to give voices in the Parliament, may be diſſolved, and their Votes taken away, and hereafter no ſuch to be admitted to Voices in Parliament.*

19. *That there may be Agents choſen in Parliament, or otherwiſe, as thought meet, to attend continually his Majeſty, to repreſent the grievances of this Nation, that they may be removeable by ſuch as did elect them; and in caſe of Death or Removance, others may be for ever ſucceſſively ſubſtituted in that place, and that ſuch Agents may enjoy the freedom of their conſcience in Court, and every where elſe.*

Theſe are the means propoſed by theſe Catholick Remonſtrants, for reducing of the Kingdom to Peace; theſe the great obſtructions they would have removed, and the conſtant Counſel they would have followed, in ſettling the Tranquility and preſent Government of this Land; ſo as we need ſeek no further evidence, nor make any more curious enquiries into the ſecret cauſes of their firſt riſing: We have here enough out of their own Mouths, to reſolve the moſt ſcrupulous unbeliever of their firſt motives to this Rebellion. And now for the matter of Religion, howſoever I am very confident they ever really intended the Re-eſtabliſhment of that of the Church of *Rome*, with all the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, together with the utter extirpation of all of the Reformed profeſſion: Yet conſidering the large indulgence, and free liberty they univerſally enjoyed at that time, in the full exerciſe of that their Religion throughout all the parts of the Kingdom; it may be moſt juſtly ſuſpected (how zealouſly ſoever they now obtrude it) that this was only the bare outward coverture made uſe of by the principal Undertakers, to draw on a poor ignorant ſuperſtitious People to ſacrifice their lives in this quarrel. Neither can it by any reaſonable Man be ever preſumed, that ſuch Perſons as made no Conſcience of committing Treaſon, ſo many cruel Murders, and all other kind of abominable Villanies, not to be parallel'd in any other Country, could be drawn meerly out of Conſcience towards God, to act theſe for the regaining of the free and publick profeſſion of their Religion.

The re-eſtabliſhment of the *Romiſh* Religion, only a pretence for the Rebellion.

This

1641. This certainly was no more the true and main cauſe of their taking up Arms, than the redreſs of their pretended Grievances, whereunto his Majeſty had condeſcended, and out of his Inclinations for their preſent Relief, had given much more ſatisfaction to their Agents lately in *England*, than ever they could expect to receive in any other time, or hope to enjoy. Yet we ſee how little effect thoſe great Graces brought over not above two Months before this Rebellion brake out, took among them: For preſently after the return of their Agents with them, this moſt deteſtable Conſpiracy, which had been long in hatching, began to work, and to be put in execution. And if we ſhall conſider their main Deſign and chief Ends therein, as they appear in their firſt Principles, or will give credit to the ſeveral Speeches and Paſſages that we meet with among the Rebels, in the very beginning of their breaking out; as alſo to ſeveral other Teſtimonies that have ſince privately fallen from ſome particular Perſons among them, we muſt believe that their Deſign clearly was to deſtroy and root out all the *Britiſh* and *Proteſtants* planted within this Kingdom, to cut off the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*, and ſo to deliver themſelves from their long continued Subjection to the *Engliſh* Nation.

All the Grievances of the Kingdom redreſſed before the Rebellion brake out.

But to come to one main particular, taken into debate by the prime Movers and chief Incendiaries in this horrid Rebellion, they had a moſt ſerious Conſultation what courſe to take with moſt ſafety to themſelves, for the disburthening of the Kingdom of thoſe multitudes of *Engliſh*, which were in very great numbers diſperſedly planted among them. Some were of Opinion, that they ſhould ſpare their Lives, and not render themſelves guilty of the ſpilling of ſo much innocent Blood, but that they ſhould ſeize on their Goods, expel them their Habitations, and after baniſhing them out of the Kingdom, proceed as the *Spaniards* did with many hundred Thouſands of the *Moors*, whom, as it were in a moment, they cleared out of their Dominions. Others there were who much oppoſed this kind of Lenity and Moderation, remonſtrating the high inconveniencies which would inevitably redound to themſelves thereby. Firſt, That the *Britiſh* were in ſo great numbers, as they could not either by diſarming, impriſoning, or any other means poſſible, ever hope to ſecure them from Miſchief: Then, that if they only expelled them out of the Kingdom, they would remain ſtill as ſo many fit Inſtruments to be entertained in *England*, and from thence returned back full of revengeful Thoughts to recover their Loſſes; that by their long Experience and Knowledge in the Country, they would be better Guides, therefore more deeply engaged to proſecute the War; and having their Bodies inured to this Climate, would prove much more able Soldiers than any new Men that could be raiſed, or any otherways brought over. How they determined this particular I ſhall not undertake to declare; my Intelligence

A Conſultation held, whether it will be beſt to murder, or only to baniſh all the Britiſh out of Ireland.

telligence fails me, and I am able to deliver no more of the Reſult of this great Council than appears in the bloody Effects and horrid Executions acted in the firſt beginnings of their Rebellion. It is moſt probable they came to no poſitive Concluſion, but left the chief Actors in this particular at large, to do as ſhould ſeem good to themſelves. We find their firſt Proceedings and Outrages committed upon the *Engliſh* very various and much differing in ſeveral places, ſome only ſtripping and expelling of them; others murdering Man, Woman and Child without Mercy. But this is certain, and of moſt unqueſtionable Truth, that by one means or other, they reſolved univerſally to root all the *Britiſh* and *Proteſtants* out of *Ireland*. And that theſe were the firſt Thoughts and bitter Fruits of the long premeditated malicious Intentions, ſufficiently appears by their Actions, as well as by their virulent Expreſſions uttered upon their firſt riſing, when they thought the Kingdom was their own. They then ſaid openly, that they meant to deſtroy the *Engliſh*, and that they had made a Covenant no *Engliſh* Man ſhould ſet footing among them. Some of the *Iriſh* would not endure the very ſound of that (*b*) Language, but would have Penalties inflicted upon them that ſpake *Engliſh*, and all the *Engliſh* Names of Places changed into the old *Iriſh* Denominations: Others profeſſed that they would not leave an *Engliſh* Man or Woman alive in the Kingdom, but that all ſhould be gone; no, not ſo much as *Engliſh* Beaſt, or any of the breed of them. *James Hallegan* the Prieſt did read an Excommunication in the Church, which, as he alledged, came from their great *Iriſh* Metropolitan; and terrifying his Pariſhioners therewith, he told them, that from that day forth, whoſoever did harbour or (*c*) relieve

1641.

The *Iriſh* reſolve to root the *Engliſh* out of *Ireland*.

Maſter *Creighton*, in his Examination.

(*b*) The *Iriſh* in many places killed *Engliſh* Cows and Sheep meerly becauſe they were *Engliſh*; in ſome places they cut off their Legs, or took a piece out of their Buttocks, and ſo let them remain ſtill alive. The Lord *Montgarret*, Mr. *Edward Butler*, the Baron of *Logmouth*, went with their Forces into *Munſter* about the beginning of the riſing of the *Iriſh* there, and while they remained about *Callen* and *Mallow*, they conſumed no leſs than fifty thouſand, others ſay an hundred thouſand *Engliſh* Sheep, beſides a great abundance of *Engliſh* Cattle; and ſuch as they could not eat, yet they killed and left in great multitudes ſtinking, to the great Annoyance of the Country. This teſtified by *Henry Champart*, in his Examination taken before Sir *Robert Meredith*, Knight, *&c.*

(*c*) *James Shaw*, a Miniſter depoſeth, That after the Ceſſation, divers of the Rebels confeſſed the Prieſts had given them the Sacrament, upon condition they ſhould not ſpare Man, Woman nor Child that were Proteſtants; and that he heard divers of them ſay in a bragging manner, that it did them a great deal of good to waſh their hands in the Blood of the Proteſtants whom they had ſlain. *Jurat.* Jan. 7. 1643.

Thomas Johnſon, Vicar of *Tullah*, of the County of *Mayo*, depoſeth, That he heard *Stephen Linoh*, Prior of *Strade*, being asked if it were not lawful to kill this Deponent becauſe he would not go to Maſs; anſwered, That it was as lawful for them to kill him, as to kill

1641. lieve any *Scot*, *Engliſh*, or *Welſh* Man, or give them Alms at their doors, ſhould be excommunicated, whereby, as Mr. *Sacheveril* teſtifies in his Examination, many were ſtarved and died for want in thoſe parts. We have it from Mr. *Creighton*, a reverend Miniſter, one long detained Priſoner within the County of *Cavan*, that the Fryars exhorted the People with Tears to ſpare none of the *Engliſh*; that the *Iriſh* were reſolved to deſtroy them out of the Kingdom; that they would devour (as their very word was) the Seed of the *Engliſh* out of *Ireland*; and when they had rid them there, they would go over into *England*, and not leave the Memorial of the *Engliſh* Name under Heaven.

And ſo fond and vain were their Imaginations, and to ſuch a height of Madneſs were they grown, as they could not terminate their Thoughts in the Reduction of *Ireland* under the power of their own Nation. But as ſoon as they had begun their Rebellion there, they ſpake confidently in all places of tranſporting their Arms into *England*, that they would ſend 30000 Men over into that Kingdom, and that they would draw in Foreign Auxiliaries thither to join with them; and ſo by a high hand eſtabliſh the free Exerciſe of the *Romiſh* Religion within that Kingdom. A deſign certainly which the Prieſts and Jeſuits had taken up in their own Thoughts, and by their Correſpondencies abroad intended powerfully to bring about, as ſoon as they had ſettled their Affairs in *Ireland*. And if it had not pleaſed God in an extraordinary way to bring the firſt Plot to light, and ſo to bleſs the weak Endeavours of the State here, as to enable them by the aſſiſtance of thoſe ſmall Forces they confuſedly gathered together, to hold out till the arrival of the Succours ſent out of *England*; I leave it to every one to conſider with how much advantage they might have gone on at that time towards the accompliſhment of ſo deſperate a Project. And for my ſelf, I muſt profeſs that I am clearly reſolved, that had they at firſt over-maſtered the unexpected Difficulties and fatal Impediments they met withal at home, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Arms and Munition within the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and ſo fleſh'd and blooded in the Slaughter of many thouſands of the *Engliſh* Nation, had tranſported a numerous Army of *Iriſh* Rebels, and ſuddenly landed them in ſome good Port within the Kingdom of *England*: They would have prevailed very far towards the miſerable Deſolation and Ruin

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kill a Sheep or a Dog: And divers of the rebellious Soldiers told him to his face, that they would no more care to kill him, than they would do a Pig.

John Addis, of the County of *Weſt-Meath*, depoſeth, That *Robert Magohagan*, Prieſt, ſaid to this Deponent, that it was no more Pity nor Conſcience to take *Engliſh* Mens Lives or Goods from them, than to take a Bone out of a Dog's Mouth, *Jurat.* July 21. 1642.

thereof.

thereof. It muſt be remembred in what a moſt unhappy diſcompoſure the Affairs were at that time there; what a diſeaſed Body the State then had, and what high Diſtempers then ſtrongly working, ſoon after brake out, what a ſtrong Party they might have found within, and with what great Reputation they would have marched on under the glory of their late Victories atchieved in *Ireland*, ſignalizing the power of their Arms with ſuch horrid Cruelties and bloody Butcheries, as would have wrought a ſtrange Terrour among the People. 1641.

Thus we ſee what were the Cauſes and firſt Motives to this unnatural Rebellion; as likewiſe who were the chief Actors and the great Inſtruments deſigned by the firſt Plotters to pre-diſpoſe the People to a readineſs to take Arms for the rooting out of the *Britiſh* Inhabitants from among them. The Preparatives being all made, the Plot in all points ripe for Execution, it was carried on to the Evening before the Day appointed for the taking of the Caſtle of *Dublin* without diſcovery. And tho' it pleaſed God to bring it then to light (as hath been declared) and ſo happily to diſappoint it it in the main Piece, yet it took in the Northern Parts, being that very day fully executed in moſt of the chief places of ſtrength within the Province of *Ulſter*. And whereas the Prieſts did long before in their publick Devotions at Maſs pray for a Bleſſing upon a great Deſign they had then in hand; ſo now, as I have heard, they did in many places, the very day before the breaking out of this Rebellion, give the People a diſmiſs at Maſs with free liberty to go out, and take Poſſeſſion of all their Lands, which they pretended, were unjuſtly detained from them by the *Engliſh*; as alſo to ſtrip, rob, and deſpoil them of all their Goods and Cattle. They had, without doubt, by one means or other, either private or publick Inſtructions, not to leave to the *Engliſh* any Thing that might afford the leaſt comfort or hope of longer Subſiſtence among them. This was the main bait uſed to draw on the common People; and this wrought far more powerfully than all other Perſuaſions, Fictions, or wild *Chimera's* that they infuſed into them. It is moſt apparent, that the prime Gentlemen in all parts, as well as their Clergy, preſſed them on to deſpoil the *Engliſh* of all their Goods and Cattle, well knowing their avaricious Humour and greedy Deſires to get them into their Poſſeſſion, and that they could not poſſibly find out any other thing that would engage them more readily to undertake, or more deſperately to execute all manner of Villanies, than the hopes of enjoying ſo rich a Prey now preſented unto them.

The *Engliſh* Goods preſented to the *Iriſh* as a chief means to raiſe them up againſt them.

The

1641. The People being now ſet at liberty, and prepoſſeſſed by their Prieſts with a belief that it was Lawful for them to riſe up, and (*d*) deſtroy all the Proteſtants, who, they told them, were worſe than Dogs; that they were Devils, and ſerved the Devil; aſſuring them the killing of ſuch was a meritorious Act, and a rare preſervative againſt the pains of Purgatory, gathered themſelves together in great Numbers, aſſembling in ſeveral Companies through the ſeveral parts of the Northern Counties, with Staves, Sithes, and Pitch-forks, for at firſt they had not many better weapons: And ſo in a moſt confuſed manner, they began tumultuouſly to drive away at the firſt, only the Cattle belonging to the *Engliſh*, and then to break into their Houſes, and ſeize upon their Goods. It is true, there were ſome Murders committed the very firſt day of their riſing, and ſome Houſes ſet on Fire, but theſe as I conceive, were for the moſt part out of private Spleen, or where they had particular Inſtructions ſo to do, as they had from the Lord *Mac-Guire*, to kill Maſter *Arthur Champion*, a Juſtice of Peace in the County of *Fermanagh*, who with ſeveral other of his Neighbours, were Murdered at his own Houſe, upon the 23*d* of *October* in the Morning. But certainly that which they mainly intended at firſt, and which they moſt buſily employed themſelves about, was the driving away the *Engliſh-mens* Cattle, and poſſeſſing their Goods: Wherein the common People were not the only Actors, but even the chief Gentlemen of the *Iriſh* in many places, moſt notoriouſly appeared, and under plauſible pretences of ſecuring their Goods from the rapine and ſpoil of the common ſort, got much peaceably into their hands: And ſo confident were the *Engliſh* of their good dealing at firſt, as many delivered their Goods by retail unto them, gave them particular Inventories of all they had, nay digged up ſuch of their beſt things as they had hidden under ground, to depoſite in their Cuſtody. Much likewiſe they got by fair promiſes and deep engagements to do them no further miſchief, to ſuffer them, their Wives and Children quietly to retire and leave the Country: But others, and eſpecially the meaner ſort of People, fell more rudely to work, at the very firſt; breaking up of their Houſes, and uſing all manner of force and violence, to make themſelves Maſters of their Goods.

The people made to believe by their *Prieſts* that it was a Meritorious Act to kill the *Engliſh*.

The *Iriſh* riſe and firſt drive away all the Cattle belonging to the *Engliſh*.

The *Iriſh* Gentlemen poſſeſs themſelves of the Goods belonging to the *Engliſh*, under pretence of ſecuring them.

(*d*) *John Parry* of *Druermoſh*, in the County of *Armagh*, depoſeth, that O *Cullan* a Prieſt, told his Auditors at Maſs, that the bodies of ſuch as died in this Quarrel, ſhould not be cold before their Souls ſhould aſcend up into Heaven, and that they ſhould be free from the pains of Purgatory.

Margaret Bromley in her Examination depoſeth, That ſome of the Rebels would ſay, after their cruel Butcheries, that they knew if themſelves ſhould now die, their Souls ſhould go to Heaven, and that they were glad of the revenge they had taken of the *Engliſh*.

And

And having thus ſeized upon all their Goods and Cattle, ranſack'd their Houſes, gotten their perſons under their power; the next thing they did, was to ſtrip Man, Woman and Child, many of them ſtark naked, and ſo to turn them out of their own doors, not permitting them in ſome places ſo much as to ſhelter themſelves under Buſhes, or in the Woods, and ſtrictly prohibiting all the *Iriſh* under great penalties, to give them Entertainment, or any kind of Relief, as they paſſed on upon the High-ways. And certainly their deſign in this, moſt notoriouſly appears to have been no other than that all ſuch as they would not lay their hands upon, and cruelly Murder in cold blood, might miſerably periſh of themſelves through Cold, Nakedneſs and Want; and therefore as faſt as any of them ſo ſtripped got old rags to cover their Nakedneſs, they endeavoured to ſtrip them again, and again: as may appear by the Examination of *John Gourly*, who depoſeth, that ſome were ſtripped twice, ſome thrice; as faſt as they could get any old Rags to cover their Nakedneſs, the next *Iriſh* Woman, or even the Children that met them would take them off: And he and his Wife further depoſe, that when their Houſe, together with the Town of *Armagh* were ſet on fire by the Rebels, ſhe was ſtripped of her Clothes ſeven ſeveral times after ſhe got other Clothes; and at length, they left her not ſo much as her Smock or Hair-lace; and that ſhe got to a place and hid her ſelf in a hutch for three or four Days, and after went to find out her Children, two of which had the Small-Pox viſibly upon them. *Jurat. Nov.* 8th 1642. 1641.

The next Act was to ſtrip the *Engliſh*, man, woman, and child ſtark naked, and to turn them out of their own doors. All manner of relief forbidden to the *Engliſh* as they paſſed upon the High-ways ſtripped and deſpoiled of all they had.

How infallibly this courſe ſucceeded, and how ſurely they compaſſed their Deviliſh ends hereby, is but too well known: The *Engliſh* leaving ſufficient Monuments in the High-ways as they paſſed, as well as in the Towns wherein they arrived, of the diſmal mortality it bred among them. And for the fuller ſatisfaction of any one who ſhall doubt thereof, I have thought fit to inſert theſe two enſuing Examinations.

The manner of ſtripping the *Engliſh*

The miſeries and mortality it brought among them.

James Redfern, of the County of *London-derry*, Depoſeth, That in the Town of *Colerain*, ſince the Rebellion began, there died of Robbed and Stripped people that fled thither for Succour, many hundreds, beſides thoſe of the Town who had anciently dwelt there, and that the Mortality there was ſuch, and ſo great, as many thouſands died there in two Days, and that the living, though ſcarce able to do it, laid the Carcaſes of thoſe dead Perſons in great ranks, into vaſt and wide holes, laying them ſo cloſe and thick, as if they had packed up Herrings together.

Magdalen Redman, late of the *Dowris*, in the *King's-County*, Widow, being ſworn and examined, depoſeth and ſaith, That ſhe, this Deponent, and divers others Proteſtants, her Neighbours, and amongſt the reſt, twenty two Widows, after they were all robbed, were alſo ſtrip'd ſtark naked, and then they covering themſelves in a Houſe with Straw, the

1641. Rebels then and there lighted the Straw with fire, and threw amongſt them, on purpoſe to burn them; where they had been burned or ſmothered, but that ſome of the Rebels more pitiful than the reſt, commanded theſe cruel Rebels to forbear, ſo as they eſcaped: Yet the Rebels kept and drove them naked into the wild Woods, from Tueſday until Saturday in Froſt and Snow, ſo as the Snow unmelted, lay long upon ſome of their skins, and ſome of their Children died in their Arms: And when as the Deponent and the reſt endeavoured to have gone away for Refuge to the *Burre*, the cruel Rebels turned them again, ſaying, they ſhould go towards *Dublin*; and when they endeavoured to go towards *Dublin*, they hindered them again, and ſaid, they ſhould go to the *Burre*; and ſo toſſed them to and fro: Yet at length, ſuch of thoſe poor ſtripped people as died not before they got away out of the hands of the Rebels, eſcaped to the *Burre*, where they were harboured and relieved by one *William Parſons*, Eſq; And yet there died at the *Burre* of thoſe ſtrip'd Perſons, about forty Men, Women and Children. And this Deponent, and thoſe other ſtrip'd People that ſurvived, lived miſerably at the *Burre* aforeſaid, until they, with the reſt, had Quarter to come from thence to *Dublin*.

Jur. 7 *March* 1642.

John Watſon,
William Aldrich.

Iſabel, the Relict of *Chriſtopher Porter*, late of *Dowris*, in the *King's-County*, ſworn and examined, depoſeth and ſaith, in all the Particulars above-mentioned, as *Magdelen Redman*, before examined, being her Neighbour.

Some

Some of the moſt Notorious Cruelties, *and Barbarous* Murders *committed by the* IRISH Rebels, *atteſted upon Oath, as they appear in ſeveral Examinations here annexed.*

WE may in theſe poor Souls, as it were, in large Characters, behold the Miſeries of all thoſe multitudes of Men, Women and Children, that were in all parts of the Kingdom thus inhumanly ſtrip'd, and ſo expoſed to the ſame Want, Cold, and Nakedneſs. The Mercies of the Wicked are Cruel: How bitter was their Compaſſion to all thoſe *Britiſh* that thus ſuffered? How horrid, barbarous, and inſupportable was the Commiſeration they thus expreſſed towards them? Yet theſe were, as they told them at firſt, but the beginnings of their Sorrows: For when the Northern Rebels began to find their own ſtrength, and that partly by Treachery, partly by Force, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the chief places of ſtrength in *Ulſter*, diſarmed the *Engliſh*, robbed them of their Goods and Cattle, ſtripped them of their Clothes, and had their Perſons now under their power, and all this without any conſiderable Reſiſtance made by them; then they could contain themſelves no longer, but in a moſt fierce outragious manner, furiouſly broke out, acting in all places of that Province, with moſt abominable Cruelty, thoſe horrid Maſſacres and execrable Murders, as would make any Chriſtian Ear to tingle at the ſad Commemoration of them: Then they began to appear in their own Colours, and with great delight to ſatiate their ancient implacable Malice, in their long wiſhed and often plotted Deſtruction of all the *Britiſh* Inhabitants. Within the County of *Fermanagh*, multitudes were preſently killed in cold Blood, ſome taken at the Plough, others as they ſate peaceably in their own Houſes, others travelling upon the Ways, all without any manner of provocation by them given, ſuddenly ſurpriſed and unexpectedly cut off. At the Caſtle of (*e*) *Liſgool*, within that County, above one hundred and fifty Men, Women and Children almoſt all

1641.

A particular Enumeration of ſeveral bloody Maſſacres and horrid Cruelties, exerciſed upon the *Britiſh*, all teſtified upon Oath, and taken out of ſeveral Examinations, which are inſerted in the Notes at the end of the Page.

Multitudes killed in cold Blood.

(*e*) *Thomas Wenſlaw* and *John Simſon*, of the County of *Fermanagh*, Gentlemen, depoſe and ſay, That in the Caſtle of *Liſgool*, there were one hundred and fifty two Men, Women and Children burnt, or ſmothered, when the ſaid Caſtle was ſet on fire; not above two or three eſcaped, as appears in their Examination. *Jurat.* Jan. 12. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

1641. conſumed by Fire. At the Caſtle of (*f*) *Moneah*, near one hundred *Britiſh* there ſlain all together: And the ſame bloody Company of Rebels were no ſooner admitted into the Caſtle of (*g*) *Tullah*, which was delivered up into the hands of *Roury Mac-Gwire*, upon Compoſition, and faithful Promiſes of fair Quarter, but that within the very Court they began to ſtrip the People, and moſt cruelly put them to the Sword, murdering them all without Mercy. (*h*) At *Liſſenskeah* they hanged, or otherwiſe killed, above one hundred Perſons, moſt of them of the *Scotiſh* Nation; for after once they had the *Engliſh* in their power, they ſpared none of them, but uſed all the *Scots* with as much Cruelty as they did the *Engliſh*. This County was very well planted by the *Britiſh* Undertakers, and all of them and their Tenants in a very ſhort ſpace after a moſt horrible manner quite deſtroyed, or utterly baniſhed from their Habitations. In the Counties of *Armagh* and *Tyrone*, where the *Britiſh* were much more numerous, and Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and his Brother *Turlagh O Neal*, the principal Actors, the Murders of the *Britiſh*, were much more multiplied and committed with greater Cruelty, if it were poſſible, than in any other places.

There were (*i*) one thouſand Men, Women and Children, carried out at ſeveral times in ſeveral Troops, and all unmercifully drowned at the Bridge of *Portnedown*, which was broken down in the midſt, and ſo

(*f*) *Thomas Wenſlow* further depoſeth, That at the Caſtle of *Moneah*, there were ninety Proteſtants more ſlain and murthered: And that from the Caſtle of *Moneah*, the Rebels marched to the Caſtle of *Tullah*, where by their own Confeſſion, they promiſed thoſe Proteſtants that were there fair Quarters: But when they had delivered up their Arms and the Caſtle; thoſe Rebels in the Bawn of the Caſtle, firſt ſtripped them all of their Cloathes, and then, and there moſt cruelly murdered them.

(*g*) *Richard Bourk*, Batchelour in Divinity, of the County of *Fermanagh*, depoſeth, That he heard and verily believeth the burning and killing of one hundred at leaſt in the Caſtle of *Tullah*, and that the ſame was done after fair Quarter promiſed. *Jurat.* July 12. 1643.

(*h*) *Roury Mac-Gwire*, upon the 24th of *October* 1641. came with his Company unto *Liſſenskeah*, and deſired in a friendly manner to ſpeak with Mr. *Midleton*, who had the keeping of the Caſtle. The firſt thing he did as ſoon as he was entred therein, was to burn the Records of the County, whereof Mr. *Midleton* was the Keeper, being Clerk of the Peace, which he forced him to deliver unto him; as likewiſe one thouſand Pounds he had in his hands of Sir *William Balfour*'s; which as ſoon as he had, he compelled the ſaid *Midleton* to hear Maſs, ſwear never to alter from it, and immediately after cauſed him, his Wife and his Children to be hanged up, and hanged and murdered one hundred Perſons beſides, at leaſt in that Town. Theſe particulars, and ſeveral other, ſet down at large in a Relation ſent me by Sir *John Dunbar*, Knight, one of the Juſtices of Peace within the County of *Fermanagh*.

(*i*) One thouſand Men, Women and Children were drowned in one place. This number is depoſed in Dr. *Maxwel*'s Examination, taken the 22d of *Auguſt* 1642.

driving

driving and forcing them on, threw them into the River: And as other Relations give it in, (*k*) four thouſand Perſons were drowned within the ſeveral parts of that County. (*l*) The Rebels in a moſt barbarous manner drove on many of thoſe miſerable ſtripped Chriſtians unto the place of their Sufferings like Swine; and if any were ſlack in their Pace, they ſometimes pricked them forwards with their Swords and Pikes, often haſtning on the reſt either by killing or wounding ſome of their Fellows in the way. 1641.

(*m*) Other Companies they carried out under pretence of giving them ſafe Conduct out of the Country, and ſo got them to go chearfully on by vertue of Sir *Phelim O Neal*'s Paſs, until they came at ſome place fit for their Execution. (*n*) And if they drowned them, then they had ſome prepared to ſhoot or knock down with Poles any ſuch as could ſwim, or uſed any other means to eſcape out of the Water. (*o*) Amongſt

(*k*) This number of ſo many Perſons drowned within the County of *Armagh*, is depoſed by *Thomas Green*, and *Elizabeth* his Wife, as appears by their Examinations, taken *November* 10. 1643.

(*l*) *William Clerk*, of the County of *Armagh*, Tanner, ſaith, That he with one hundred Men, Women and Children, or thereabout, were by the Rebels driven like Hogs about ſix Miles, to a River called the *Band*: In which ſpace the foreſaid Chriſtians were moſt barbarouſly uſed, by forcing them to go faſt with Swords and Pikes, thruſting them into their ſides, and they murdered three by the way, and the reſt they drove to the River aforeſaid, and there forced them to go upon the Bridge, which was cut down, and with their Pikes and Swords, and other Weapons, thruſt them down headlong into the ſaid River, and immediately they periſhed; and thoſe who aſſumed to ſwim to the Shoar, the Rebels ſtood and ſhot at. *Jurat.* Jan. 7. 1641.

Mary, the Wife of *Ralph Corn*, depoſeth, That one hundred and eighty *Engliſh* were taken by the *Iriſh*, and driven like Cattle from *Caſtle-Cumber* to *Athy*.

(*m*) *Elizabeth*, the Wife of Captain *Rue Price*, of the Town and County of *Armagh*, depoſeth, That five of her Children, together with one hundred and ten other Proteſtants, out of the Pariſhes of *Armagh*, *Laughaul*, and other places, were ſent away with Paſſes from Sir *Phelim O Neal*, with promiſe to be ſafely conveyed over to their Friends in *England*: That their Conductor was Captain *Manus O Cane* and his Soldiers, who having brought, or rather driven them like Sheep or Beaſts to the Bridge of *Portnedown*, there forced or threw all thoſe poor Priſoners into the Water, together with the Deponent's five Children, and then and there drowned moſt of them. (*n*) And thoſe who could ſwim and come to the Shoar, they either knocked them on the head, and ſo after drowned them, or elſe ſhot them to death in the Water. *Jurat.* Jan. 29. 1641.

(*n*) *Chriſtian Stanhaw*, the Relict of *Henry Stanhaw*, of the Pariſh of *Laughaul*, in the County of *Armagh*, depoſeth, That upon the drowning of one hundred and forty Proteſtants one time at *Portnedown*-Bridge, after they had thrown them in, ſome of them ſwimming to the Shoar, the Rebels with their Muskets knocked out their Brains. *Jurat.* July 23. 1642.

(*o*) *James Shaw*, of *Market-Hill*, in the County of *Armagh*, depoſeth the manner of Miſtreſs *Cambel*'s pulling the Rebel into the Water, and how he was drowned with her. *Jurat.* Aug. 14. 1642.

many

1641. many others, a Gentlewoman, whoſe Name was *Cambell*, being forcibly brought by them to the River, and ſhe finding no means to eſcape their Fury, ſuddenly claſped her Arms about one of the chief Rebels that was moſt forward to thruſt her into the Water; and, as I find it credibly related upon Oath, carried him to the bottom with her, and ſo they were both drowned together. (*p*) The Cathedral Church and Town of *Armagh* were burnt, many Towns laid waſte, all the fair Plantations made by the *Britiſh* left deſolate; in ſome Pariſhes (*q*) two hundred Families murdered and deſtroyed, the whole Country, as it were a common Butchery; and thorough all parts of it very many Thouſands periſhed in a ſhort time by Sword, Famine, Fire, Water, and all other manner of cruel deaths, that Rage and Malice could invent.

Some horrid inhuman Cruelties exerciſed upon particular Perſons.

But before I leave this Subject, I ſhall paſs a little further, and out of ſome Examinations (taken here upon Oath, which I have peruſed) preſent a brief Collection of ſome other horrid inhuman Cruelties, which I find were uſed in the murdering of many poor innocent Souls. To many, theſe bloody Villains ſhewed ſo much favour, as ſuddenly to diſpatch them out of their pain, by no means allowing them leave, or (*r*) time to ſay

(*p*) Captain *Parkin* depoſeth, That Sir *Phelim O Neal* flying from *Dundalk*, went to *Armagh*, where he began his bloody Maſſacres, cauſing *Manus O Cane* to get together all the Proteſtants which were left thereabouts, to conduct them to *Colerain*; but before they were ſcarce a day's Journey from him, they were all murdered; and ſo were ſeveral others by ſpecial direction from Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and his Brother *Turlagh*, notwithſtanding they were protected by them. All the aged People in *Armagh* were by the ſame directions carried away, but murdered alſo at *Charlemount*. And preſently after, his Brother and he, with their Adherents, maliciouſly ſet on fire the goodly Cathedral Church of *Armagh*, and Town of *Armagh*, and murdered and drowned there five hundred Perſons, young and old. At the Pariſh of *Killaman*, forty eight Families were then murdered by directions from Sir *Phelim O Neal*, who had remained protected by him three quarters of a Year. *Jurat.* March 8. 1643.

(*q*) *Jane Grace*, the Wife of *Nicholas Grace*, late of *Kilmore*, in the County of *Armagh*, depoſeth, That there were two and twenty *Engliſh* Proteſtants burned in one Houſe, within two Miles of *Kilmore*; and that the Rebels ſtripped, killed, or murthered all, or the moſt of the *Engliſh* of that Pariſh, which conſiſted of two hundred Families. That they ſet many in the Stocks until they confeſſed their Money, and when they could get no more, that then they murdered them.

(*r*) *Edward Saltinglaſs*, of the County of *Armagh*, Gent. depoſeth, and ſaith, That *George Lawlis*, a Rebel, of the ſaid County, reſolving to kill *John Cowder*, told him he would kill him, but bid him firſt ſay his Prayers; whereupon the ſaid *Cowder* kneeling down to pray, the ſaid *Lawlis* inſtantly cut off his head as he was upon his knees. *Jurat.* June 1. 1642.

Elizabeth Price depoſeth, That when as divers of the *Engliſh* were about to be murdered, and deſired the Rebels on their Knees firſt to admit them to make their Prayers to GOD; the Rebels have often, in her, the Deponent's hearing, in *Iriſh*, anſwered and ſaid, *Bequeath*

ſay their Prayers; for others, they held a ſudden death too eaſy a pu- 1641.
niſhment: Therefore they impriſoned (ſ) ſome in moſt beaſtly Dungeons, full of Dirt and Mire, and there clapping Bolts on their heels, ſuffered them to periſh at leiſure; others they barbarouſly (t) mangled, and left languiſhing upon the High-ways, crying out but for ſo much Mercy as to be delivered out of their pain.

Others they buried (u) alive, a manner of death they uſed to ſeveral *Britiſh* in ſeveral places: And (v) at *Clownis* within the County of *Fermanagh*, there were ſeventeen Perſons having been hanged till they were half dead, caſt together into a Pit, and being covered over with a little earth, lay pittifully, ſending out moſt lamentable groans for a good time after. (w) Some were deadly wounded and ſo hanged upon Tentor-

queath your Soul to the Devil; and at other times the Rebels would ſay, *Why ſhould you pray, your Soul is with the Devil already?* And with thoſe words in their Mouths would ſlaughter and put them to death. *Jurat. ut ſupra.*

(ſ) *Edward Banks*, of *Caſſel*, in the County of *Tipperary*, Clerk, depoſeth, That the Rebels there, on the firſt Day of *January*, killed fifteen Men and Women, all *Engliſh* Proteſtants, at *Caſſel*, and that they entered and took the Town; and having the ſame, that they took this Deponent, and other Clergymen, and then and there forthwith cauſed them to be put in the Dungeon, where they continued twelve Weeks in moſt miſerable Slavery. *Jurat.* April 21. 1642.

(t) *John Cregg*, in the County of *Armagh*, Yeoman, depoſeth, That in the Pariſh of *Levilegiſh*, there were divers *Engliſh* Men cruelly murdered, ſome twice, ſome thrice hanged up, and others wounded and left half dead, crying out lamentably for ſome to come and end their Miſeries by killing of them. *Jurat.* Jan. 7. 1641.

(u) *William Parkinſon* of *Caſtle-Cumber*, in the County of *Kilkenny*, Gent. depoſeth, That by the credible report both of *Engliſh* and ſome *Iriſh*, who affirmed they were Eye-witneſſes of a bloody Murder committed near *Kilfeal* in the *Queens-County*, upon an *Engliſhman*, his Wife, four or five Children, and a Maid. All which were hanged, by the command of Sir *Morgan Cavanagh*, and *Robert Harpool*, and afterwards put all in one Hole, the youngeſt Child being not fully dead, put out the hand and cryed Mammy, Mammy, when without mercy they buried him alive, *Jurat. Feb.* 11th 1642.

Elizabeth Price depoſeth, That *Thomas Maſon*, an *Engliſh Proteſtant* of *Langal*, being extreamly beaten and wounded, was carried away by his Wife and ſome others; for revenge of which, the Rebels moſt cruelly hacked, ſlaſhed and wounded them; and that done, dragged the ſaid *Maſon* unto a hole, and then and there threw Earth, Stones and Rubbiſh upon him, and with the weight thereof kept him under, ſo as the ſaid *Maſon's* Wife told this Deponent, he cryed out and languiſhed, till his own Wife, to put him out of his pain, rather than hear him cry ſtill; tyed her Handkerchief over his Mouth, and therewith ſtopped his Breath, ſo as he died. *Jurat.* June 29. 1641.

(v) This particular, concerning the ſeventeen Men buried alive at *Clownis*, was teſtified unto me by Mrs. *Aldrich*, who was then kept Priſoner in the Town by the Rebels, and heard their pitiful cries.

(w) *William Parkinſon*, late of *Caſtle-Cumber* in the County of *Kilkenny*, depoſeth, That he ſaw *Lewis O Brenan*, with his Sword drawn in the ſaid Town, purſue after an *Engliſh*

1641. Tentorhooks. (x) Some had Ropes put about their Necks, and ſo drawn through the Water; ſome had Withes, and ſo drawn up and down thorough Woods and Bogs; others were hanged up and taken down, and hanged upagain ſeveral times, and all to make them confeſs their Money, which as ſoon as they had told, they then diſpatched them out of the way. (y) Others were hanged up by the Arms, and with many ſlaſhes and cuts they made the Experiment with their Swords how many blows an *Engliſh-man* would endure before he died. Some had their (z) Bellies ript up, and ſo left with their Guts running about their Heels. But this horrid kind of cruelty was principally reſerved by theſe inhuman Monſters

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liſh Boy of Eight or Nine years of age, or thereabouts, by name *Richard Bernet*, into an Houſe, and ſaw the ſaid *Lewis* laid the ſaid Boy forth of the Houſe, the Blood running about his Ears, in a Hair Rope, and led the Boy to his Father's Tentors, and there Hanged him with *John Banks* another little Boy. *Jurat. ut ſupra.*

(x) *Edward Saltingſtone*, of the County *Armagh*, of Gent. depoſeth, That *Manus O Cane*, *Bryan O Kelly*, *Shane O Neil*, *Neil Oge O Neil*, Gent. did take *William Blundel* of *Grange*, in the County of *Armagh*, Yeoman, and put a rope about his Neck, and threw him into the Black-water at *Charlemount*, and drew him up and down the Water to make him Confeſs his Money, who thereupon gave them twenty one pounds, yet within three Weeks after, he, his Wife, and ſeven Children were drowned by the Rebels. And further ſaith, that *Samuel Law* of *Grenan*, in the Pariſh of *Armagh*, was by the ſaid *Neil Oge O Neil*, and others, brought to a Wood, and that then, they there put a With about his Neck, and ſo drew him up and down by the neck, until he was glad to promiſe them ten pounds. *Jurat. ut ſupra.*

Margaret Fermeny, in the County of *Fermanagh*, depoſeth, That the Rebels bound her and her Husband's hands behind them, to make them confeſs their Money, and dragged them up and down in a Rope, and cut his Throat in her own ſight with a Skein, having firſt knocked him down, and ſtripped him, and that being an aged Woman ſeventy five years old, as ſhe came up afterwards to *Dublin*, ſhe was ſtripped by the *Iriſh* ſeven times in one Day, the Rebels bidding them go and look for their God, and bid him give them Clothes. *Jurat.*

(y) *Edward Wilſon* of the County of *Monaghan*, depoſeth, That among other cruelties uſed by the Rebels to the *Engliſh*, they hung up ſome by the Arms, and then hacked them with their Swords, to ſee how many blows they could endure before they died. *Jurat.*

(z) *Anne* the Wife of *Mervin Madſley*, late of the City of *Kilkenny*, Gent. ſworn and examined, depoſeth, That ſome of the Rebels in *Kilkenny* aforeſaid, ſtruck and beat a poor *Engliſh-woman* until ſhe was forced into a Ditch, where ſhe died, thoſe barbarous Rebels having firſt rip'd up her Child, of about ſix years of Age, and ſet her Guts run about her Heels. *Jurat.*

James Geare of the County of *Monaghan*, depoſeth, That the Rebels at *Clownis* Murdered one *James Nettervile*, Proctor to the Miniſter there, who although he was diverſly wounded, his Belly rip'd up, and his Entrails taken out and laid above a yard from him, yet he bled not at all, until they lifted him up and carried him away; at which this Deponent being an Eye-witneſs, much wondered; and thus barbarouſly they uſed him after they had drawn him to go to Maſs with them. *Jurat.* April 6. 1642.

(a) Owen

ſters for (a) Women, whoſe ſex they neither pity'd nor ſpar'd, hanging up ſeveral Women, many of them great with Child, whoſe (b) Bellies they ripped up as they hung, and ſo let the little Infants fall out; a courſe they ordinarily took with ſuch as they found in that ſad condition. (c) And ſometimes they gave their Children to Swine; (d) ſome the Dogs eat; and ſome taken (e) alive out of their Mothers Bellies, they caſt into Ditches. And for ſucking Children, and others of a riper age, ſome (f) had 1641.

(a) *Owen Frankland* of the City of *Dublin*, depoſeth, That *Michael Garray* told this Deponent, that there was a *Scotchman*, who being driven by the Rebels out of the *Newry*, and knock'd on the Head by the *Iriſh*, recovered himſelf, and came again into the Town naked: Whereupon the Rebels carried him and his Wife out of the Town, cut him all to pieces, and with a Skein ripped his Wives Belly, ſo as a Child dropped out of her Womb. *Jurat.* July 23. 1642.

(b) At *Ballimcolough* within four miles of the City of *Roſs*, in *April* 1642. *John Stone* of the *Graige*, his Son, his two Sons-in-Law, and his two Daughters, were hanged; one of his Daughters being great with Child, her Belly was ripped up, her Child taken forth, and ſuch barbarous beaſtly Actions uſed to her, as are not fit to mentioned.

(c) *Philip Taylor* late of *Portnedown*, depoſeth, That the Rebels killed a Dyer's Wife of *Roſs-trewer*, at the *Newry*, and ript up her Belly, ſhe being great with Child of two Children, and threw her and her Children into a Ditch, and that he this Deponent drove away Swine from eating one of the Children. *Jurat.*

(d) *John Montgomery* of the County of *Monaghan*, ſworn and examined, ſaith, That one *Brian Mac-Erony*, Ringleader of the Rebels in the County of *Fermanagh*, killed Enſign *Floyd*, *Robert Worcnum*, and four of their Servants, one of which they having wounded, though not to Death, they buried quick. As alſo, that he was credibly informed, that the Daughter-in-Law of one *Foard* in the Pariſh of *Clowniſh*, being delivered of a Child in the Fields, the Rebels, who had formerly killed her Husband and Father, killed her and two of her Children, and ſuffered the Dogs to eat up and devour her new-born Child. *Jurat.* June 26. 1642.

(e) *Katharine*, the Relict of *William Coke*, of the County of *Armagh*, Carpenter, depoſeth, That the Rebels of the ſaid County robbed, ſtripped and murdered a great Company of Proteſtants, ſome by Burning, ſome by the Sword, ſome by Hanging, and the reſt by ſtarving, and other Deaths. And this Deponent to ſhun their Rage, and ſave her poor Life, hid her ſelf in a Ditch of Water, and ſat there among high Ruſhes ſo long, as that ſhe was almoſt frozen and ſtarved to Death, and then crawled away ſecretly. And further ſaith, that ſome of the Rebels that eſcaped and fled from the Battle of *Liſnagarvey*, meeting one Mrs. *Howard* and Mrs. *Frankland*, both great with Child, and ſix of their Children with them, thoſe Rebels then and there with their Pikes killed and murdered them all, and after ripped open the Gentlewomens Bellies, took out their Children, the one of them being quick and threw them into a Ditch, in the ſight of *Jane* this Deponent's Daughter; who eſcaped becauſe ſhe ſpake *Iriſh*, and ſaid ſhe was an *Iriſh* Woman. *Jurat. Febr.* 24. 1643.

(f) *James Stevenſon*, Clerk of the County of *Leitrim*, depoſeth, That the Rebels there took *Iſabel Stevenſon*, a young Child, left at *Foſtering*, with one *Hugh Mac Arran*, and enquiring whoſe Child it was, they told him it was a *Scotiſh-man's* Child, whereupon they took the Child by the Heels, and run and beat the Brains of it out againſt a Tree. *Jurat. April* 20. 1643.

1641. had their Brains knock'd out; others (*g*) were trampled under foot to death; (*h*) ſome they cut in gobbets and pieces, (*i*) others they rip'd up alive; (*k*) ſome were found in the Fields, ſucking the Breaſts of their murder'd Mothers; others lay ſtifled in Vaults and Cellars; others (*l*) ſtarved in Caves, crying out to their Mothers rather to ſend them out to be killed by the Rebels, than to ſuffer them to ſtarve there. Mul-

(*g*) *Anne Hill*, Wife of *Arthur Hill*, in the County of *Catherlaugh*, depoſeth, That as ſhe paſſed through the County of *Wicklow*, *William* the Plaiſterer, with nine or ten Rebels more, pulled off her back a young Child of one Year and a Quarter old, threw it on the Ground, trod on it that it died, ſtripped her ſelf and four ſmall Children, who by the Cold they thereby got, ſince Died. *Jurat.*

(*h*) *John Stubs* of the County of *Longford*, Gent. depoſeth, That he heard by ſome of the Sheriffs Men, that *Henry Mead* and his Wife, *John Bigel*, *William Stell*, and *Daniel Stubs* the Deponent's brother, were put to Death by *Liſagh Farrols*, and *Oli. Fitz-Gerralds* Men, who hanged them upon a Wind-Mill, and when they were half dead, they cut them to pieces with their Skeins. *Jurat. Novemb.* 21. 1641.

El. Price depoſeth, That a great number of poor Proteſtants, eſpecially of Women and Children, they pricked and ſtabbed with their Skeins, Pitchforks and Swords, and would ſlaſh, mangle and cut them in their heads, breaſts, faces, arms, and other parts of the body, but not kill them out-right, but leave them wallowing in their blood, to languiſh, ſtarve, and pine to Death; and whereas thoſe ſo mangled deſired them to kill them out of their pain, they would deny it; but ſometimes after a Day or two, they would daſh out their Brains with Stones, or by ſome other cruel way, which they accounted done as a favour, of which ſhe hath in many Particulars been an Eye-witneſs. *Jurat. June* 29. 1642.

(*i*) *William Parkinſon* of *Kilkenny* Eſq; depoſeth, That the Wife of *John Harvey* told him, That ſhe being at *Killkenny*, and having there turned to Maſs to ſave her Life, was notwithſtanding ſtripped again, together with her Children, and one *Purcell* a Butcher, after he had ſtripped her Daughter of five Years of age, ripped up her Body till her intrails fell out, whereof ſhe died that Night; whereof ſhe complaining to the Major of *Kilkenny*, he bid away with her and diſpatch her, ſo as not only the Butcher, but many others did beat and wound her, ſo as ſhe hardly eſcaped with her Life. *Jurat.* July 2. 1642.

(*k*) *Elizabeth Champion* late Wife of *Arthur Champion* in the County of *Fermanagh* Eſq; depoſeth, That when the Caſtle of *Liſgool* was ſet on fire by the Rebels, a Woman leaping out of a Window to ſave her ſelf from burning, was murdered by the Rebels; and next Morning her Child was found ſucking her Breaſt, and alſo murdered by them. *Jurat.* April 26. 1642.

Charity Chappel, late Wife of *Richard Chappel* Eſq; of the Town and County of *Armagh*, depoſeth, That as ſhe hath credibly heard, the Rebels murdered great Numbers of Proteſtants, and that many Children were ſeen lying murder'd in Vaults and Cellars, whither they fled to hide themſelves. *Jurat.* July 2. 1642.

Thomas Fleetwood, late Curate of *Killbeggan* in the County of *Weſt-meath*, depoſeth, That he hath heard from the Mouth of the Rebels themſelves of great Cruelties acted by them: And for one inſtance, that they ſtab'd the Mother, one *Jane Addis* by name, and left her little ſucking Child, not a quarter old, by the dead Corps; and then they put the breaſt of its dead Mother into its Mouth, and bid it ſuck *Engliſh-baſtard*, and ſo left it there to periſh. *Jurat.* March 22. 1642.

(*l*) *Mary Barlow*, depoſeth, That her Husband being by the Rebels hanged before her face, ſhe and ſix Children were ſtripped ſtark naked, and turned out a begging in Froſt and Snow, by means whereof they were almoſt ſtarved, having nothing to eat in three Weeks, while

Multitudes of (*m*) Men, Women and Children, were found drowned, caſt into Ditches, Boggs and Turf-pits; the ordinary Sepultures of the *Britiſh* Nation. Thouſands died of cold and want in all parts of the Country, being neither permitted to depart, nor relieved where they were enforced to ſtay. (*n*) Multitudes encloſed in Houſes, which being ſet on fire, they were there moſt miſerably conſumed. (*o*) Some dragged out of their ſick Beds to the place of Execution; (*p*) Children, enforced to carry 1641.

while they lay in a Cave, but two old Calf-Skins, which they beat with Stones, and ſo eat them, hair and all; her Children crying out unto her, rather to go out and be killed by the Rebels, than to ſtarve there. *Jurat.*

(*m*) *John Duffield*, of the County of *Armagh*, Gent. depoſeth, That the Rebels wounded *John Ward* and *Richard Duffield*, ſo as they thereof died, and that their Wives and the ſaid *John*'s ſix Children, being all ſtript, died of want and cold. And further ſaith, That many thouſands of Proteſtants, Men, Women, and Children, being ſtripped of their Cloaths, died alſo of cold and want in ſeveral parts of the Country. *Jurat.* Aug. 9. 1642.

(*n*) *Jane* the Wife of *Gabriel Conſtable*, late of *Drumcad* in the County of *Armagh*, Gent. Sworn and Examined ſaith, That her Husband and his Mother about 88 Years old, and his Brother, being murder'd by the Rebels in the Pariſh of *Kilmore*, that a great number of Proteſtants were about *Candlemas* 1641. by the means and inſtigation of *Joan Hemskin*, formerly a Proteſtant, but a meer *Iriſh* Woman, and lately turned to Maſs, and of divers other her aſſiſtants, forced and thruſt into a thatch'd Houſe within the Pariſh of *Kilmore*, and then and there, the Proteſtants being almoſt naked, covered with Rags only, the ſame Houſe was by that bloody Woman and her barbarous aſſiſtants, ſet on fire in ſeveral parts thereof, the poor impriſoned parties (who were by armed Parties kept there locked in) were miſerably burned to death, and at length the Houſe fell upon them; and the combuſtible part of the Houſe being conſumed before the Bodies of all thoſe miſerable wretches were burned to aſhes, the Bodies of many of them lay there in holes, to the great terror of the beholders that were Proteſtants, three only eſcaped out of a Hole of the Houſe, and the reſt that attempted to eſcape the Flames, were then and there forced and thrown in again, and ſo burned to death. *Jurat.* June 16. 1642.

(*o*) *Katharine Madeſon* of the County of *Fermanagh*, depoſeth, That they drew ſome lying ſick of Fevers, out of their Beds, and hanged them; and that they drove before them of Men, Women and Children, to the number of ſixteen, and drowned them in a Boggy-pit, knocking ſuch on the Head with Poles, as endeavoured to get out.

(*p*) *Thomas Green* in the Pariſh of *Dumcres* in the County of *Armagh*, Yeoman, and *Elizabeth* his Wife, ſworn and examined, ſaith, That the Deponent *Thomas Green* hardly eſcaped away with his Life, but that the other Deponent and ſix Children were all left among the Rebels, and ſo ſtripped of their Clothes, and hunger-ſtarved, that five of the Children dyed, and ſhe this Deponent being put to beg among the mercileſs Rebels, was at length reſcued from them by the *Scottiſh* Army: She further ſaith, that the Rebels did drown in a Bog, ſeventeen Men, Women, and Children, at one time within the ſaid Pariſh; and ſhe is verily perſwaded that the Rebels at ſeveral times and places within the County of *Armagh*, drowned above 4000 Proteſtants, enforcing the Sons and Daughters of thoſe very aged People, who were not able to go themſelves, to take them out of their Beds and Houſes, and carry them to drowning, eſpecially in the River of *Toll*, in the Pariſh of *Loghall*, *Jurat.* November 10. 1643.

1641. carry their aged Parents to the Places deſigned for their ſlaughter; (q) nay, ſome Children compelled moſt unnaturally to be the Executioners of their own Parents, Wives to help to hang their Husbands, (r) Mothers to caſt their own Children into the Water; and yet after theſe enforced Acts, which no doubt were performed out of hopes and aſſurance to have their own Lives ſaved, always murdered. And ſuch was the malice and moſt deteſtable hatred born to the *Engliſh* by the *Iriſh*, as they taught their (s) Children to kill *Engliſh* Children, and the (t) *Iriſh* Women did naturally expreſs as much cruelty as the chiefeſt Rebels among them.

If

(q) *John Rutledge* depoſeth, That ſuch were the barbarous and inhumane Cruelties of the Rebels, that ſometimes they enforced the Wife to kill the Husband, the Son to kill the Father, and the Daughter to kill the Mother, and then they would hang or put to death the laſt Blood-ſhedder. He further ſaith, That of his knowledge the Rebels in the Town of *Slego*, forced one *Lewis* the younger to kill his Father, and then hanged the Son; and in *Mogne*, in the County of *Mayo*, the Rebels forced one *Simon Lepen's* Wife to kill her Husband, and then cauſed her Son to kill her, and then they hanged the Son.

(r) This is depoſed in Mr. *Goldſmith's* Examination, which is ſet forth at large in the Pages following.

(s) *Anne Read*, the Relict of *Helchiah Read*, of the County of *Letrim*, depoſeth, That ſhe being ſtripped of all ſhe had, ſome of her Children died of want and famine, and that one of her Sons called *Stephen Read*, being about ſix years of age, was about the 10th of *February*, 1641. in the Houſe of *James Gray* of the County of *Cavan*, and going forth to play, there then gathered about him ſix *Iriſh* Children of that Town, who ſuddenly fell upon him, and in ſuch manner that ſome with Sticks, and ſome with Stones, put out his Eyes, and bruiſed his Body extreamly, ſo that he by means of thoſe Children (which were none of them, as ſhe is perſwaded, above eight years of age) not long after died, and had been killed out-right in the place, had not an *Engliſh* Woman come thither, who took up the dying Child from them, ſaying, ſhe wonder'd they could find in their hearts ſo to deal with a poor Child; but they anſwered, they would do as much for her if they were able. *Jurat.* July 12. 1642.

(t) *Dennis Kelly* of the County of *Meath*, depoſeth, That *Garrat Tallon* of *Cruiſetown* in the ſaid County, Gent. (as is commonly reported) hired two Men to kill *Ann Hagely*, Wife to *Edward Tallon* his Son, a Papiſt, and at that time abſent from home; and the ſaid two Men did in moſt bloody manner, with Skeins, kill the ſaid *Ann Hagely* and her Daughter, and her Daughter's two Children, becauſe they would not conſent to go to Maſs; and after they would not permit them to be buried in a Church or Church-yard, but they four were buried in a Ditch. *Jurat.* Auguſt 23. 1643.

John Griſſel of the *Queen's County*, depoſeth, That the Women and Children in thoſe parts, were as cruel and forward as the Men Rebels, the Children though young, being very bold in their Robberies, bidding this Deponent and the reſt of the *Engliſh* be gone, or elſe they ſhould be hanged.

Elizabeth Baskervile, depoſeth, That ſhe heard the Wife of *Florence Fitz-Patrick* find much fault with her Husband's Soldiers, becauſe they did not bring along with them the Greaſe of Mrs. *Nicholſon*, whom they had ſlain, for her to make Candles withal. *Jurat.* April 26. 1643.

Martha Culm, depoſeth, That ſhe heard ſome of the *Iriſh* themſelves deteſt the cruelty of the Women who followed their Camp, and put them on in cruelty, ſaying, Spare neither Man, Woman, nor Child. *Jurat.*

(u) This

If these be not sufficient, let us over-look the particular Ends of some particular Persons, and we shall yet in them behold more horrid Cruelties than these before-mentioned. What (*u*) shall we say to a Child boiled to Death in a Cauldron, a (*v*) Woman hanged on a Tree, and in the hair of her head her own Daughter hanged up with her; (*w*) a Woman miserably rent and torn to pieces; (*x*) some taken by the Rebels, their Eyes plucked out, their Hands cut off, and so turned out to wander up and down; (*y*) others stoned to death; (*z*) a Man wounded and set upright in a hole digged in the Earth, and so covered up to the very Chin, there left in that miserable manner to perish; a (*aa*) Man's feet held in 1641.

(*u*) This particular deposed by *Margaret Parkin*, as also by *Elizabeth Burset*, who saith, That the Child was of twelve Years of Age, being the Child of *Thomas Straton*, of *Newtown*. Jurat. Jan. 19. 1641.

(*v*) The Wife of *Jonathan Linn* and his Daughter, were seized upon by the Rebels near the Town of *Catherlagh*, carried by them into a little Wood, called *Stapletown*-Wood, and there the Mother was hanged, and the Daughter hanged in the hair of her Mother's head, as is deposed by *James Shaw*, Vicar of Old *Laughlin*, Jan. 8. 1643.

(*w*) *Adam Clover* deposeth, That he saw upon the High-way a Woman left by the Rebels, stripped to her Smock, set upon by three Women and some Children, being *Irish*, who miserably rent and tore the said poor *English* Woman, and stripped her of her Smock in a bitter Frost and Snow, so that she fell in Labour in their hands, and both she and her Child died there. *Jurat.* Jan. 4. 1641.

(*x*) This Cruelty was used to some *English* in the Province of *Conaught*, as was testified to the Lords Justices and Council, as doth appear by their Letters.

(*y*) *Thomas Fleetwood*, Curate of *Killeggan*, in the County of *West-Meath*, deposeth, That the Lord President of *Conaught*, caused an *English* Woman, who could speak *Irish*, to go toward *Dublin* with a Letter, but she was taken within five Miles of the Town of *Athlone*, brought back and stoned to death by the Women of the Town, dwelling on the hither side of the Bridge. *Jurat.*

James of *Hacket's* Town, in the County of *Catherlagh*, deposeth, That an *Irish* Gentleman told him and others, that he turned an *English* Woman away who was his Servant, and had a Child, and that before the poor Woman and Child were gone half a Mile, divers *Irish* Women slew them with Stones. *Jurat.* April 21. 1643.

(*z*) *John Clerk*, of *Knockbach*, Gent. deposeth, That he heard credibly from *Mr. Lightbourne*, Minister of the *Naas*, that the Rebels shot a Parish-Clerk near *Kildare*, through both his Thighs, and afterwards digged a deep hole in the ground, wherein they set him upright on his feet, and filled up the hole in the Earth, leaving out only his head, in which state and posture they left the poor wounded Man till he pined, languished, and so died. *Jurat.* Octob. 24. 1643.

(*aa*) *Katharine*, the Relict of *William Coke*, of the County of *Armagh*, deposeth, That many of her Neighbours who had been Prisoners among the Rebels, said and affirmed, that divers of the Rebels would confess, brag, and boast, how they took an *English* Protestant, one *Robert Wilkinson*, at *Kilmore*, and held his feet in the fire until they burned him to death: And the same *Robert Wilkinson*'s own Son was present, and a Prisoner, when that Cruelty was exercised on his Father. *Jurat.* Feb. 24. 1643.

(*b*) At

1641. in the fire till he was burnt to death, his Wife hanged at his door; (*b*) a Miniſter ſtripped ſtark naked, and ſo driven like a Beaſt thorough the Town of *Caſhel*, the Rebels following and pricking him forward with Darts and Rapiers; (*c*) a company of Men, Women, and Children, put into a Houſe, and as they were burning, ſome Children that made an Eſcape out of the flames, were taken by the Rebels who ſtood by, cut them in pieces with Scythes, and ſo caſt them into the fire again!

Neither did theſe horrible Tortures, which they put theſe poor innocent Chriſtians unto, aſſuage their Fury; their Malice towards them did not determine with their Breath. But after ſo many ſeveral bloody Ways and cruel Inventions wherewith they rent their Souls from their wretched Bodies, even to their (*d*) dead Carcaſſes, in ſome places, they denied all manner of Burial; ſome (*e*) they caſt into Ditches, others (*f*) they left to be devoured by Dogs and Swine, others by Fowls and ravenous Birds; nay,

(*b*) At *Caſhel* in *Munſter*, beſide many Miniſters which they there hanged after a moſt barbarous manner, they ſtrip'd one naked, and drove him through the Town, pricking him forward with Darts and Rapiers, and ſo purſuing him till he fell down dead. *Jurat.* Feb. 24. 1643.

(*c*) *Chriſtian Stanhaw*, the Relict of *Henry Stanhaw*, late of the County of *Armagh*, Eſquire, depoſeth, That a Woman that formerly lived near *Laugale*, abſolutely informed this Deponent, that the Rebels enforced a great number of Proteſtants, Men, Women, and Children, into a Houſe which they ſet on fire purpoſely to burn them, as they did, and ſtill as any of them offered to come out to ſhun the fire, the wicked Rebels with Scythes, which they had in their hands, cut them in pieces, and caſt them into the fire, and burned them with the reſt. *Jurat.* July 23. 1642.

(*d*) *Adam Clover*, of the County of *Cavan*, depoſeth, That he obſerved thirty Perſons to be moſt barbarouſly murdered, and about one hundred and fifty more cruelly wounded, ſo that Traces of Blood iſſuing from them, lay upon the High-way for twelve Miles together, and many very young Children were left and periſhed by the way, to the number of ſixty, or thereabouts; becauſe the Cruelties of the Rebels were ſuch, that their Parents and Friends could not carry them further. And further ſaith, That ſome of the Rebels vowed, that if any digged Graves, wherein to bury the dead Children, they ſhould be buried therein themſelves: So the poor People left moſt of them unburied, expoſed to ravenous Beaſts and Fowls. *Jurat.* Jan. 4. 1641.

(*e*) *Edward Saltinſtale*, depoſeth, That the Rebels killed *William Loverden* when he was naked, his Wife and Children looking on, and cutting off his head, held it up to his Wife and Children; and his ſorrowful Wife taking his Corps and burying of it in a Garden, *Patrick O Dally*, a Rebel, took it up, and threw it into a Ditch. *Jurat. ut ſupra.*

(*f*) *Thomas Green* and *Elizabeth* his Wife, depoſe, That the Rebels at ſeveral times murdered, killed and deſtroyed the moſt part of the Proteſtants in the Pariſh of *Dunmeri*, being about three hundred, and indeed moſt of the Proteſtants in all the County thereabouts, did they kill and deſtroy, by drowning, hanging, burning, the Sword, ſtarving, and other deaths, expoſing their ſlaughtered Bodies to be devour'd by Dogs, Swine, and other ravenous Creatures: And this Deponent, *Elizabeth*, ſaw the Dogs feed upon thoſe dead Carcaſſes. *Jurat.* Nov. 10. 1643.

(*g*) *Rich.*

nay, (g) ſeveral which had been formerly buried, they digged up, and left them to putrify above ground. 1641.

And theſe truly are but ſome of thoſe ways, among many others which, with moſt exquiſite Pains and cruel Tortures, were uſed by theſe mercileſs (h) Rebels to let in death among an innocent, unprovoking, unreſiſting People, that had always lived peaceably with them, (i) adminiſtring all manner of Helps and Comforts to thoſe who were in diſtreſs; that made no difference betwixt them and thoſe of their own Nation, but ever cheriſhed them as Friends, and loving Neighbours, without giving any cauſe of Unkindneſs or Diſtaſte unto them. It is not poſſible to recollect or expreſs the Wickedneſs of their miſchievous Inventions, or horrour of their bloody Executions, actuated with all kind of circumſtances that might aggravate the height of their Cruelty towards them. Alas! who can comprehend the Fears, Terrours, Anguiſh, Bitterneſs and Perplexity of their Souls, the deſpairing Paſſions and Conſternation of their Mind! What ſtrange amazed Thoughts muſt it needs raiſe in their ſad Hearts, to find themſelves ſo ſuddenly ſurpriſed without Remedy, and inextricably wrapt up in all kind of outward Miſeries which could poſſibly by Man be inflicted upon any humane Creatures! What Sighs, Groans, Trembling! Aſtoniſhment! What Screeches, Cries, and bitter Lamentation of Wife and Children, Friends and Servants, howling and weeping about

(g) *Rich. Bourk*, Batchelour of Divinity, depoſeth, That he was informed, that Mr. *Lodge*, Arch-deacon of *Killalow*, being buried about ſix Years ſince, and divers other Miniſters Bones were digged out of their Graves as Patrons of Hereſy, by direction of the titular Biſhop of *Killalow*; and *Robert Jones*, a Miniſter, was not admitted Chriſtian Burial, by direction of ſome Popiſh Prieſts. *Jurat.* July 12. 1643.

David Buck depoſeth, That in the Pariſh of *Munrath*, in the *Queen's-County*, the Rebels digged up a number of *Engliſh* Mens Graves, and left the Corps above ground to be abuſed by Dogs, Hogs, or any other ravenous Creatures.

(h) *Arthur Agmoughty* depoſeth, That during the Siege of *Caſtle-Forbez*, the Rebels killed poor Children that went out to eat Weeds or Graſs; and that a poor Woman whoſe Husband was taken by the Rebels, went to them with two Children at her Feet, and one at her Breaſt, hoping to beg her Husband's Life; but they ſlew her and her ſucking Child, broke the Neck of another of her Children, and the third hardly eſcaped. *Jurat.* Sept. 23. 1643.

(i) Mr. *Creighton* depoſeth in his Examination, That ſometimes the chief of the *Iriſh* would make heavy moan for the Evils they perceived were coming on their Country and Kindred, and ſaid, They ſaw utter Deſtruction at hand, for that they had covered ſo great a bitterneſs ſo long in their hearts againſt the *Engliſh*, and now ſo ſuddenly broke out againſt them, that had brought them up, kept them in their Houſes like Children, and had made no difference between them, their *Engliſh* Friends and Kindred, by all which the *Engliſh* had ſo well deſerved of them, and they had requited them ſo evil, that the *Engliſh* would never truſt them hereafter; and now it remains that either they muſt deſtroy the *Engliſh*, or the *Engliſh* them. *Jurat. ut ſupra.*

(k) *Fran.*

1641. about them, all finding themſelves without any manner of Hope or Deliverance from their preſent Miſery and Pain! How inexorable were their barbarous Tormentors, that compaſſed them on every ſide without all Bowels of Compaſſion, any ſenſe of their Sufferings, or the leaſt commiſeration and pity, the common Comforters of Men in Miſery!

It was no ſmall addition to their Sorrows, to hear (*k*) the baſe reviling Speeches uſed againſt their Country and Country-men, ſome loudly threatning (*l*) all ſhould be cut off, and utterly deſtroyed that had one drop of *Engliſh* Blood in them; the *Iriſh* Women crying out to ſpare neither Man, Woman, nor Child that was *Engliſh*; that the *Engliſh* was Meat for Dogs, and their Children, Baſtards.

How grievous and inſupportable muſt it needs be to a true Chriſtian Soul, to hear a baſe (*m*) Villain boaſt, that his hands were ſo weary with killing and knocking down Proteſtants into a Bogg, that he could not lift

(*k*) *Fran. Barbour*, of *Dublin*, Gent. depoſeth, That at the beginning of the Rebellion, he heard ſeveral of the Rebels publickly ſay, That now the day was their own, and that they had been Slaves to the *Engliſh* a long time, but that now they would be revenged to the full, and would not leave before *Chriſtmas-Day*, an *Engliſh* Proteſtant Rogue living; with other like bitter words. *Jurat.* Jan. 5. 1643.

Jane, the Relict of *Gabriel Conſtable*, depoſeth, That the Rebels having half killed one *Ellen Millington*, and then put her into a dry hole made for a Well, and made her faſt in with Stones, whereof ſhe languiſhed and died; the Rebels bragged how many of them went to ſee her kick and toſs in the hole, her Husband being formerly murdered by the Rebels. *Jurat. ut ſupra.*

(*l*) *Elizabeth*, the Wife of *Thomas Green*, depoſeth, That ſhe heard the Rebels ſay, The *Engliſh* were Meat for Dogs; that there ſhould not be one drop of *Engliſh* Blood left within the Kingdom, and that they would deſtroy all, the very *Engliſh* Children, whom they called Baſtards. *Jurat.* Nov. 10. 1643.

Richard Cleybrook depoſeth, That he heard *Luke Toole* ſay, That they would not leave an *Engliſh* Man or *Engliſh* Woman in the Kingdom; that they would not leave an *Engliſh* Beaſt alive, or any of the Breed of them. *Jurat.*

Samuel Man, of the County of *Fermanagh*, Gent. depoſeth, That he heard ſome of the *Iriſh* ſay, That there ſhould not be one *Engliſh* Man, Woman, or Child left in the Kingdom. *Jurat.*

Elizabeth Dickingſon depoſeth, That ſhe heard ſome of the Company of *Rory Mac-Gwire* ſay, That the *Iriſh* had command to leave never a drop of *Engliſh* Blood in *Ireland*. *Jurat.* Nov. 17. 1642.

Catherine Madeſon, of the County of *Fermanagh*, depoſeth, That ſhe hath often heard the Rebels ſay, That they would drive all the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* out of the Kingdom, and that both Man, Woman, and Child ſhould be cut off and deſtroyed. *Jurat.* Nov. 17. 1642.

(*m*) *Elenor Fullerton*, the Relict of *William Fullerton*, late Parſon of *Lougall*, depoſeth, That in Lent, 1641. a young roguing Cow-Boy, gave out and affirmed in this Deponent's hearing, That his hands were ſo weary in killing and knocking down Proteſtants into a Bog-Pit, that he could hardly lift his Arms to his head. *Jurat.* Sept. 16. 1642.

Owen Frankland depoſeth, That he heard *Hugh O Cane*, late Servant to Mrs. *Stanhaw*, calling to his Fellows in a boaſting manner, aſking them what they had been doing at home

lift his Arms up to his head? Or others to say, (n) that they had killed so many *English* Men, that the greaſe or fat which remained on their Swords or Skeins, might have made an *Iriſh* Candle; or to conſider, that two (o) young Cow-Boys ſhould have it in their power to murder thirty ſix Proteſtants. Whoſoever ſhall ſeriouſly weigh theſe particulars, will not much wonder that ſo great numbers of *Britiſh* and Proteſtants, ſhould be deſtroyed in ſo ſhort a time after (p) the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion, as Mr. *Cunningham* depoſeth in his Examination: He there ſaith, That the account of the Perſons killed by the Rebels from the time of the beginning of the Rebellion, *October* 23. 1641. unto the Month of *April* following, was, as the Prieſts weekly gave it in, in their ſeveral Pariſhes, one hundred and five thouſand. *Jurat.* April 22. 1641. 1641.

When the Caſtle of *Liſgoole* (q) was ſet on fire by the Rebels, and ſo many *Britiſh*, as are before-mentioned, conſumed in the Flames, thoſe miſchievous Villains that had done that wicked Fact, cried out with much Joy, *How ſweetly do they fry!* How did the Inhabitants (r) of *Kilkenny* (a City planted with old *Engliſh*, where Civility and good Manners

home all the day, that he had been abroad and had killed ſixteen of the Rogues, and ſhewed them ſome Money. *Jurat.* Sept. 16. 1642.

(n) *Elizabeth Champion*, late Wife of *Arthur Champion*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, Eſquire, ſaith, That ſhe heard the Rebels ſay, That they had killed ſo many *Engliſh* Men, that the Greaſe or Fat which remained upon their Swords and Skeins, might well ſerve to make an *Iriſh* Candle. *Jurat.* April 14. 1642.

(o) *John Birne*, late of *Dongannon*, in the County of *Tyrone*, depoſeth, That he heard ſome of the Native *Iriſh* that were ſomewhat more merciful than the reſt, complain that two young Cow-Boys within the Pariſh of *Tullah*, had at ſeveral times murdered and drowned thirty ſix Women and Children. *Jurat.* Jan. 12. 1643.

(p) *James Shaw*, a Miniſter, depoſeth, That after the Ceſſation made with the *Iriſh*, divers of them confeſſed, the Prieſts had given them the Sacrament, upon condition they ſhould not ſpare Man, Woman, or Child, that were Proteſtants; and that he heard divers of them ſay in a bragging manner, that it did them much good to waſh their hands in the Blood of the Proteſtants which they had ſlain. *Jurat.* Jan. 7. 1643.

(q) *Elizabeth Champion* depoſeth, That when the Rebels had ſet the Caſtle of *Liſgoole* on fire upon the Proteſtants there incloſed, and ſaw the ſaid Houſe ſo burning, they ſaid among themſelves rejoycingly, *O how ſweetly do they fry!* Jurat. *ut ſupra.*

(r) *William Lucas*, of the City of *Kilkenny*, depoſeth, That although he lived in the Town till about five or ſix Weeks paſt, in which time he is aſſured divers Murders and cruel Acts were committed, yet he durſt not go abroad to ſee any of them: But he doth confidently believe that the Rebels having brought ſeven Proteſtants heads, whereof one was the head of Mr. *Bingham*, a Miniſter, they did then and there as Triumphs of their Victory, ſet them upon the Market-Croſs on a Market-day, and that the Rebels ſlaſh'd, ſtabb'd, and mangled thoſe Heads, put a Gag, or Carrot, in the ſaid Mr. *Bingham*'s Mouth, ſlit up his Cheeks to his Ears, laying a leaf of a Bible before him, and bid him preach, for his Mouth was wide enough; and after they had ſo ſolaced themſelves, threw thoſe Heads in a hole in St. *James*'s Green. *Jurat.* Aug. 16. 1643.

(s) *Julian*

1641. ners ſeemed to flouriſh) ſolace and pleaſe themſelves in abuſing moſt unchriſtianly the heads of a Miniſter and ſix other Proteſtants, brought in a kind of Triumph into that Town: Certainly it is not not to be imagined, much leſs expreſſed, with what Scorn and Deriſion they acted theſe great Cruelties upon all *Britiſh* which they had gotten into their power; with what Joy and Exultation their Eyes did behold the ſad Spectacle of their Miſeries; what (*s*) greedy Delight and Pleaſure they took in their bloody Executions; what (*t*) Malice and hatred they expreſſed towards them, many with the laſt ſtroke of death giving them in their laſt Agony (*u*) that fearful Valediction, in *Iriſh*, *Anim a duel*, Thy Soul to the Devil.

But

(*s*) *Julian Johnſon*, the Relict of *John Johnſon*, of the County of *Gallway*, depoſeth, That after the ſlaughter of ſome *Engliſh*, ſhe heard one O *Moloy*, a Fryar, ſay in a triumphing manner, *It was a brave ſport to ſee the young Men* (meaning ſome of the *Engliſh* then ſlain) *defending themſelves on every ſide, and their two Eyes burning in their heads.* And further, that ſhe heard ſome of the cruel Soldiers then and there brag and boaſt of the brave ſport they had, by putting fire to the Straw which a ſtripped *Engliſh* Woman had tied about her, ſaying, *How bravely the Fire then made the* Engliſh *Jade to dance!* Jurat. Feb. 8. 1643.

Joan Conſtable, the Relict of *Gabriel Conſtable*, depoſeth, That the Out-cries, Lamentations, and Schrieches of the poor Proteſtants burned in a thatch'd Houſe in the Parish of *Kilmore*, in the County of *Armagh*, were exceeding loud and pitiful, yet did nothing prevail to mollify the hardened hearts of their Murderers, but they moſt boldly made Brags thereof, and took pride and glory in imitating thoſe Cries, and in telling the Deponent and others, how the Children gaped when the fire began to burn them; and threatned and told her, this Deponent, that before it were long ſhe and the reſt of the Proteſtants ſhould ſuffer the like deaths. And further ſaith, That the Rebels within the County of *Armagh*, did act and commit divers other bloody barbarous Cruelties (betwixt the time of the beginning of the Rebellion, and her eſcape from Impriſonment out of the ſaid County) by burning, drowning, hanging, the ſword, ſtarving, and other fearful deaths; That they did drown at one time betwixt *Tinen* and *Kinnard*, ſixty *Britiſh* Women and Children, their reſpective Husbands and Fathers, and all their Male Friends that were Men, being murdered before: And that they did in the ſame Water, at another time, drown one Mrs. *Maxwel*, the Wife of Mr. *James Maxwel*; when ſhe was in Labour, and ſo forward therein, as ſome of thoſe bloody Actors told and bragg'd to her, this Deponent, that the very Child's Arm appeared, and waved in the Water, the Child being half born when the Mother was drowned. *Jurat. ut ſupra.*

(*t*) *Henry Brinkhurſt*, of the County of *Mayo*, depoſeth, That after the Maſſacre of *Shreul*, one of the Rebels that had acted his part there, came into a Houſe with his hands and clothes all bloody, ſaying, *It was* Engliſh *Blood; that he hoped to have more of it, and that his Skein had pinked the clean white Skins of many at* Shreul, *even to the hilt thereof; and that amongſt others, it had been in the Body of a fair complexion'd Man, whoſe name was* Jones. At which time of his diſcourſe, the Wife of the ſaid *Jones*, with four of her ſmall Children, ſat by, and durſt not cry out, but ſtriving to ſuppreſs her extream Grief, fell into a Swoon, and was convey'd out of the Room, for fear he ſhould have done the like by her and her poor Children. *Henry Brinkhurſt*, Jurat. March 13. 1643.

(*u*) This Particular depoſed in the Examination of Dr. *Maxwel* and Mrs. *Price*.

(*v*) *Margaret*

But it was no wonder that they carried themſelves after this barbarous manner to theſe poor innocent Chriſtians, when they ſpared not moſt fearfully to belch out their Rage againſt their Maker. What open (*v*) helliſh Blaſphemies were uttered by theſe wicked Miſcreants? (*w*) With what Indignation and Reproach did they tear, trample under their feet, the ſacred Word of GOD! How deſpitefully did they upbraid the Profeſſion of the Truth to thoſe bleſſed Souls, whom neither by Threats nor Terrours, Pains nor Torments, they could draw to forſake their Religion? 1641.

But

(*v*) *Margaret Stokes*, the Wife of *Hugh Stokes*, duly ſworn and examined, depoſeth, *inter alia*, that when the Rebels, or any of them, had killed an *Engliſh* Man in the Country, many others of them would come one after another, and every of them in moſt cruel manner ſtab, wound and cut him, and almoſt mangle him; and to ſhew their further Malice, would not ſuffer or permit any to bury them, but would have them to lie naked, for the Dogs, Beaſts, and Fowls of the Air to devour them. And further ſaith, when they had ſo killed the *Engliſh*, they would reckon up and account the number of them, and in a rejoycing and boaſting manner would ſay, *That they had made the Devil beholding to them, in ſending ſo many Souls to him to Hell.* Jurat. coram *Sir* Gerrard Lowther.

Edward Deane, of *Ocrem*, in the County of *Wicklow*, Tanner, depoſeth, That the *Iriſh* Rebels made Proclamation, *That all* Engliſh *Men and Women that did not depart the Country within twenty four hours ſhould be hanged, drawn and quartered; and that the* Iriſh *Houſes that kept any of the* Engliſh *Children, ſhould be burned.* And further ſaith, that the ſaid Rebels burned two Proteſtant Bibles, and then ſaid, *That it was Hell-Fire that burnt.* Jurat. Jan. 7. 1641.

(*w*) *John Kerdif*, Clerk of the County of *Tyrone*, depoſeth, *inter alia*, That Fryar *Malone*, of *Skerries*, did take the poor Mens Bibles which he found in the Boat, and cut them in pieces, and caſt them into the fire with theſe words, *That he would deal in like manner with all Proteſtant and Puritan Bibles.* Jurat. Feb. 28. 1641.

Henry Fiſher, of *Powerſcourt*, in the County of *Wicklow*, depoſeth, That the Rebels entered the Pariſh-Church at *Powerſcourt*, and burnt up the Pews, Pulpit, Cheſts and Bibles belonging to the ſaid Church, with extream Violence and Triumph, and expreſſing of hatred to Religion. *Jurat.* Jan. 25. 1641.

Adam Clever, of *Slomoſy*, in the County of *Cavan*, duly ſworn, depoſeth, That *James O Rely*, *Hugh Brady*, and other Rebels, did often take into their hands the Proteſtant Bibles, and wetting them in the dirty Water, did five or ſix times daſh the ſame on the face of this Deponent, and other Proteſtants, ſaying, *Come, I know you love a good Leſſon, here is an excellent one for you; come to morrow, and you ſhall have as good a Sermon at this*; and uſed other ſcornful and diſgraceful words unto them: And further ſaith, that dragging divers Proteſtants by the hair of the head, and in other cruel manner, into the Church, there ſtripped, robbed, whipped, and moſt cruelly uſed them, ſaying, *If you come to morrow, you ſhall hear the like Sermon.* Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

Edward Slack, of *Guſteen*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, Clerk, depoſeth, That the Rebels there took his Bible, opened it, and laying the open ſide in a puddle of Water, leaped and trampled upon it, ſaying, *A plague on it, this Bible hath bred all the Quarrel*, and that he hoped within few Weeks all the Bibles in *Ireland* ſhould be uſed as that was, or worſe, and that none ſhould be left in the Kingdom. *Jurat.* Jan. 4. 1641.

1641. But I ſhall not here touch any further upon thoſe who died thus gloriouſly; this will be a worthy Work for ſome more able Pen to undertake, and indeed fit for a Martyrology. If we ſhall take a Survey of the Primitive Times, and look into the Sufferings of the firſt Chriſtians that ſuffered under the Tyranny and cruel Perſecutions of thoſe Heathenish Emperors, we ſhall not certainly find any one Kingdom, though of a far larger Continent, where there were more Chriſtians ſuffered, or more Unparallel'd Cruelties were acted in many years upon them, than were in *Ireland*, within the ſpace of the firſt two Months after the breaking out of this Rebellion. And howſoever (*x*) ſome by outward Inflictions and Tortures were drawn to profeſs the change of their Religion, and had preſently their reward: For many of thoſe they ſuddenly diſpatched with great ſcorn, ſaying, It was fit to ſend them out of the World in that good mood; (*y*) yet I dare ſay we ſhall find many thus cruelly put to Death, equal to ſome of thoſe ancient Worthies for their Patience, Conſtancy, Courage, Magnanimity in their Sufferings, not accepting Deliverance, but triumphing and inſulting with their laſt Breath, over the Inſolency, Rage and Malice of their moſt inhumane and cruel Perſecutors.

We ſhall find in the *Roman* Story, during the ſeveral cruel Conteſtations betwixt *Marius* and *Sylla*, when their factious Followers filled the

(*x*) *Alexander Creighton* of *Glaſlough* in the County of *Monaghan*, Gent. depoſeth, That he heard it crediby reported among the Rebels aforeſaid at *Glauſlough*, that *Hugh Mac O Degan*, a Prieſt, had done a moſt meritorious Act in drawing betwixt forty and fifty *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* in the Pariſh of *Ganally*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, to reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*, and after giving them the Sacrament, demanded of them whether Chriſt's Body was really in the Sacrament or no? And they ſaid, Yea, And that he demanded further, Whether they held the Pope to be ſupream head of the Church? They likewiſe anſwered, He was: And that thereupon he preſently told them, they were in good Faith, and for fear they ſhould fall from it, and turn Hereticks, he and the reſt that were with him cut all their Throats. *Jurat.* March 1. 1641.

(*y*) *John Gluſs* of *Montwrath* in the *Queen's-County*, ſworn and examined, ſaith, That *Florence Fitz-Patrick* of the ſaid County, Eſq; having received Mr. *John Nicholſon* and his Wife *Ann Nicholſon*, under his Protection, did endeavour all he could to turn them to Maſs, or the preſent Rebellion; but they both profeſſed, that rather than they would either forſake their Religion, or fight againſt their Countrymen, they would die the Death, the Husband profeſſing how much they abhorred it, and his Wife even ſhewing greater Reſolution: They would have had her burn her Bible; but her anſwer was, Before ſhe would either burn her Bible, or turn againſt her Countrymen, ſhe would die upon the point of the Sword; which was made good by them; for on a Sabbath-day in the morning before Maſs, they were cruelly Butchered and Murdered by the command of the ſaid *Florence Fitz-Patrick*: The Inſtrument that acted the Villany, was one *John Harding*, who ſince hath been beyond all expreſſion tormented in his conſcience, and with continued Apparitions of them (as he conceived) in ſuch manner as he murdered them; ſo as he is even now conſumed away with the horror of it, as is moſt frequently reported among the Rebels. *Jurat.* April 8. 1642.

whole City of *Rome* with Streams of Blood, ſtrange and moſt incompa- 1641
rable Paſſages of Friendſhips; one expoſing himſelf to all manner of Dan-
gers for the preſervation of his Friend of a contrary Faction; Servants willingly ſacrificing themſelves to ſave the Lives of their beloved Maſters. But here on the contrary, what open Violation of all Bands of Humanity and Friendſhip? No Contracts, no Promiſes obſerved; Quarter given in the moſt ſolemn manner, with the greateſt Oaths and ſevereſt Execrations, under Hand and Seal, ſuddenly broken. The *Iriſh* Landlords making a Prey of their *Engliſh* Tenants; the *Iriſh* Servants betraying their *Engliſh* Maſters; and every one eſteeming any Act wherein they could declare their Hatred and Malice moſt againſt any of the *Britiſh* Nation, as gallant, and truly Meritorious.

It is not to be denied, but that the firſt and moſt bloody Executions were made in the Province of *Ulſter*, and there they continued longeſt to execute their Rage and Cruelty; yet muſt it alſo be acknowledged, that all the other three Provinces did concur with them, as it were, with one common conſent to deſtroy and pluck up by the Roots all the *Britiſh* planted thoughout the Kingdom. And for this purpoſe they went on, not only murdering, ſtripping, and driving out all of them, Men, Women, and Children, but they laid waſte their Habitations, burnt their Evidences, defaced in many Places all the Monuments of Civility and Devotion, the Courts and Places of the *Engliſh* Government; nay, as ſome of themſelves expreſs it, they reſolved not to leave them either Name or Poſterity in *Ireland*.

How they proceeded on in this Work, or how far they co-operated each with other, will be a Task of a large ſize, and more proper for another place in this Story.

I ſhall here conclude this Diſcourſe concerning the Cruelties exerciſed upon the *Britiſh* and Proteſtants, with theſe following Examinations. They are Eight in number, two Witneſſes, as it were, taken out of each Province to declare their bloody Proceedings: I ſhall begin with *Munſter*, from whence we have yet very few Examinations brought up, the chiefeſt of them having been moſt unhappily carried another way. Therefore I have thought fit, for the more full expreſſing their Miſeries, to inſert their General Remonſtrance, made upon the Concluſion of the late Ceſſation, in the year 1643. The two next enſuing are concerning the Province of *Conaught*; then thoſe of the Province of *Ulſter*; and laſtly, two Examinations taken of ſome Acts of Cruelty committed within the Province of *Leinſter*. I have made choice, for the moſt part of them, of ſuch as have been put in by Perſons of good Quality, of known Integrity and Credit. They are all upon Oath, as all the other Examinations concerning Cruelties before-mentioned likewiſe are. I ſhall leave the ſeveral

1641. veral particulars to the Conſideration of ſuch as ſhall pleaſe to take the Pains to read them over. And I may well ſay of them, in reſpect of the former Cruelties inſerted, as was ſaid to the Prophet *Ezekiel* in another Caſe, *Turn thee yet again, and thou ſhalt ſee greater Abominations than theſe.*

Ezek. 11. 12.

A General *REMONSTRANCE* of the Diſtreſſed PROTESTANTS in the Province of *Munſter.*

Here follow ſeveveral Examinations taken upon Oath, of ſeveral horrid murders, and moſt abominable cruelties acted within the four Provinces.

SEtting forth, from the gaſping Condition of their moſt ſad and diſtreſſed Souls, That whereas the Province of Munſter, *through the vaſt Expence of* Engliſh *Treaſure and Blood, was reduced from the height of Barbariſm to ſuch a degree of Civility, that the Power and Dignity of the* Engliſh *Crown, was much advanced and extended by the ſureſt and nobleſt Bonds of a Flouriſhing People; thoſe of Religion, Civility and Profit: Of Religion, witneſſed, by the enlarged Congregations both in Cathedral and Parochial Churches: Civility, by the many coſtly Plantations, fair and ſtrong Buildings, plentiful Markets, and bountiful Hoſpitality: And Profit, by the free Trade and Commerce throughout* Chriſtendom. *Lands fully Improved, abounding with Herds and Flocks of all ſorts of the beſt* Engliſh *Cattel, which enabled us to advance great Sums to his Majeſty's Cuſtoms, contribute large Subſidies, and to ſupply the Weſt of* England *with ſuch a conſiderable proportion of Wool and Cattel, that a great part of the Trade of thoſe parts ſubſiſted thereby. And this begun at the great charge of the* Engliſh *Undertakers, in the time of Queen* Elizabeth, *of famous Memory; ſince when few parts of* Chriſtendom *from their beginning (in ſo ſhort ſpace) had ſuch a Riſe and Growth; which was not alone to our ſelves, but the very Natives muſt confeſs, that their Eſtates were hugely augmented by our Improvements. And therefore let it not be wondred at, that when we conſider* from what we are fallen, to what we are fallen; *if the pain of Loſs, ſtrive to equal that of Senſe; and if the depth of our Miſeries have not ſunk our Souls to ſtupidity, we may compare our Woes to the ſaddeſt Parallel of any Story. Our Temples demoliſhed, or worſe, prophaned by Sacrifices to Idols; our Houſes and Caſtles become ruinous heaps, our Nation extirpated, deſtroyed: No Quality, Age, Sex, priviledged from Maſſacres and lingring Death; by being robbed and ſtripped naked, through Cold or Famine, Paſſages of a notable piece of Clemency and Mercy. The famiſhed Infants of murdered Parents ſwarm in our Streets, and for want of Bread periſh before our Faces; and many of our yet miſerable Remnant, which lived*

plentifully

plentifully, and relieved others, are forced to ask Relief, and those they ask of, 1641.
constrained by want to refuse them; So as undoubtedly our present Miseries are not far distant of those of Samaria's *Siege; and all those cast upon us by this unparallel'd Rebellion, at a time when we were most confident and secure, more and greater Immunities and Bounties being granted by his Majesty that now is, than ever was by his Royal Progenitors; for what Cause, Offence, or least seeming Provocation, our Souls never imagine (Sin excepted) save that we were Protestants, and his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, and could not endure their Poysonous Breaths to belch out such Prophaneness, as in a deep measure pierced and wounded the sacred Fame of our King; and to colour this, we must go under the notorious Names of first* Puritans *and later of* Round-Heads; *for particular instances, time would fail, and length weary the Reader. But we are altogether confident to make it manifest, by abundant instances, That the Depopulations in this Province of* Munster, *do well near equal those of the whole* Kingdom. *The particulars whereof, as of the multitude of inhuman Cruelties, were Collected and Reduced to several Instances, with ample Proof, by the many Months endeavours of a reverend Divine, one Arch-Deacon* Bisse, *thereunto authorized by vertue of a Commission under the Broad Seal of this Kingdom; who was most barbarously murdered by the* Irish, *expressing that to be the cause. And because it may be thought requisite to touch something of the Demeanours of the* Irish *since the Cessation, as well as before; many* English *have been murdered as they Travelled, with other expressions of that utter detestation of the* English, *that if any remain (which few do) nor surely will do, that can but breathe elsewhere; then must they be in a degree worse than any known Slavery. And likewise for other parts of the Cessation, they have been totally broken, and our Quarters, being of large Extent, universally taken from us, even to the Walls of our Garrisons; wherein we have often call'd to the chief of them for Justice; which being denied (or which is worse) delayed, want of means to justifie our selves, leaves us without remedy. All which we pour forth our Griefs and Supplications, above, to* GOD *alone; and here on Earth,* to our Dread Soveraign.

The

The Examination of *Anne*, the late Wife of *John Sherring*, late of the Territory of *Ormonde*, near the Silver-Works, in the County of *Tipperary*, aged about twenty five Years, ſworn and examined, depoſeth and ſaith,

1641. Province of *Munſter*

THAT about *Candlemas* was two Years, the ſaid *John Sherring*, her then Husband, going from his Farm, which he held from Mr. *John Kenedy*, Eſq; near to the Silver-Works, one *Hugh Kenedy*, one of the Brothers of the ſaid *John Kenedy*, a cruel Rebel, together with a great multitude of *Iriſh* rebellious Soldiers, then and there fiercely aſſaulted and ſet upon her Husband, and upon one *William Brock*, *William Laughlin*, *Thomas Collop*, and eight more *Engliſh* Proteſtant Men, and about ten Women, and upon ſome Children in their company, and then and there ſtrip'd them of their Clothes, and then with Stones, Pole-axes, Skeins, Swords, Pikes, Darts, and other Weapons, moſt barbarouſly maſſacred and murdered her Husband, and all thoſe Proteſtant Men, Women, and Children: In the time of which Maſſacre, a moſt loud and fearful Noiſe and Storm of Thunder, Lightning, Wind, Hail-ſtones and Rain began: The time being on a Sabbath-day, about an hour before Night, the former part of the day being all very fair, but that Thunder, Lightning, and Tempeſt, happening ſuddenly after the Maſſacre was begun, much affrighted and terrified this Deponent and many others, inſomuch as thoſe Murderers themſelves confeſſed it to be a ſign of God's Anger and threatning of them for ſuch their then Cruelty; yet it deterred them not, but they perſiſted in their bloody Act, until they had murdered thoſe ſaid *Engliſh* Proteſtants, and had hack'd, hew'd, ſlaſh'd, ſtabb'd, and ſo maſſacred them, that many of them were cut all to pieces; and her Husband, for his part, had thirty grievous Wounds then and there given him, (*viz.*) ſome through or near his Heart, ten mortal Wounds in his Head, three in his Belly, and in either Arm four, and the reſt in his Thighs, Legs, Back and Neck: And that Murder done, thoſe barbarous Rebels tied Wyths about their Necks, and drew them out of the Refining-Mill (where indeed they ſlew them) and threw them, or moſt of them, into a deep hole (formerly made) one upon another, ſo that none of thoſe twenty three Men, Women, nor Children, did eſcape death. Howbeit, one *Tho. Ladell*, a *Scottiſh* Man, and one *George Kelſey*, who then and there endured, and had many grievous Wounds, and being left on the ground for dead, crawled up, (after the Rebels were gone away) and with much difficulty eſcaped with their Lives: And further ſaith, that

that ſuch was God's Judgment upon the ſaid *Hugh Kenedy*, for that bloody Fact, that he preſently fell into a moſt deſpetate Madneſs and Diſtraction, and could not reſt Day nor Night; yet coveting to do more Miſchief upon the *Engliſh*, but being prevented, and denied to do it, he about a Week after drowned himſelf in the next River to the Silver-Works, but his barbarous and wicked Soldiers went on in their Wickedneſs, and afterwards bragged how they had killed a Miniſter and his Wife and four Children near the City of *Limerick*; and this Deponent is too well aſſured, that thoſe and other *Iriſh* Rebels in that part of the Country, exerciſed and committed a great number of bloody Murders, Robberies, and Outrages upon the Perſons and Goods of the Proteſtants, ſo as very few eſcaped with their Lives, and none at all ſaved their Goods. And further ſaith, that all the Popiſh Gentry in the Country thereabouts, eſpecially all thoſe of the *Septs*, and Names of the *O Brians*, and the *Coghluns*, the *Kenedies*, were all Actors in the preſent Rebellion againſt his Majeſty; and either acted, aſſiſted, incited or conſented to all the Murders, Robberies, Cruelties, and rebellious Acts aforeſaid. And ſhe further ſaith, that by means of the ſaid Rebellion, her ſaid Husband and ſhe were at *Weriswood* about *Candlemas*, 1641. robbed and deprived of their Cattle, Houſhold-ſtuff, Corn, Mault, Proviſion, ready Money, Debts, the Benefit of their Leaſe, and other their Goods and Chattles, of the Value, and to their Loſs, of one hundred and threeſcore Pounds at the leaſt; and that the ſaid *John Kenedy*, Eſq; their Landlord, was the Man that ſo deprived and robbed them thereof; and the other Rebels ſtrip'd her ſtark naked. *Jurat.* Feb. 10. 1643. 1641.

Henry Jones, *Anne Sherring.*
Henry Brereton.

The Examination of *John Goldſmith*, Parſon of *Braſhoul*, in the County of *Mayo*, Sworn and Examined, ſaith,

THAT the Lord of *Mayo* being to convoy all thoſe of *Caſtle-Burre* to *Galway*, *viz.* Sir *Henry Bingham* with all his Company, and the Biſhop of *Killalla*, with all his Company, with many of the neighbouring *Engliſh*, being about threeſcore in number, whereof there were ſome fifteen Miniſters, covenanted with one *Edmund Bourk* for the ſafe Convoy of the ſame Parties upon a certain day; and the ſaid Lord of *Mayo* appointed them all to meet him at *Belchataghs*, having firſt ſeparated this De- The Province of *Conaught.*

1641. ponent from them to attend his Lady in the Work of the Miniſtry. At which day, the titulary Archbiſhop and the Lord of *Mayo* meeting with their whole Number went on their Journey to *Shreul*; at which place the Lord of *Mayo* left them in the Cuſtody of the ſaid laſt named *Edmund Bourk:* But as one Mr. *Bringhurſt* told the Deponent, the Lord of *Mayo* was not gone far from them, but the ſaid *Edmund Bourk* drew out his Sword, directing the reſt what they ſhould do, and began to maſſacre thoſe Proteſtants; and accordingly ſome were ſhot to death, ſome ſtabb'd with Skeins, ſome run through with Pikes, ſome caſt into the Water and drowned, and the Women that were ſtripped naked, lying upon their Husbands to ſave them, were run through with Pikes; and very few of thoſe *Engliſh* then and there eſcaped alive, but the moſt part were murdered in the place: Amongſt the reſt, the Biſhop of *Killalla* eſcaped with his Life, but was then and there wounded in his head; and one Mr. *Crowd*, a Miniſter, was then and there ſo beaten with Cudgels on his feet, that he died ſhortly after. And this Deponent further ſaith, that in the Town of *Sligo*, forty Perſons of *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh*, were by the Rebels ſtrip'd and lock'd up in a Cellar, and about Midnight a Butcher, which was ſent unto them on purpoſe, with his Axe knocked them on the head, and ſo then and there murdered them: Which Butcher coming afterwards to *Caſtle-Burre*, did there confeſs his bloody Fact.

In *Tirawly*, within the County of ------ about thirty or forty *Engliſh* (formerly turned Papiſts) had their choice given them, whether they would die by the Sword, or drown themſelves: They making choice of drowning, were brought to the Sea-ſide by the Rebels, who had their Skeins drawn in their hands, and forced them to wade into the Sea: The Mothers, with their Children in their Arms (crying for Drink) having waded to the Chin, at length caſt or dived themſelves and Children into the Sea, yielding themſelves to the Maſtery of the Waves, and ſo periſhed.

The Torments the Rebels would uſe to the Proteſtants to make them confeſs their Monies, were theſe, *viz.* ſome they would take and writh Wryths about their heads, till the Blood ſprang out of the crown of their heads; others they would hang until they were half dead, then they would let them down; and do the ſame ſo often over, until they confeſſed their Monies.

And this Deponent further ſaith, that a young Youth of about fifteen Years of Age, the Son of Mr. *Montgomery*, the Miniſter, meeting with a bloody Rebel who had been his Schoolmaſter; this Rebel drew his Skein, and began furiouſly to ſlaſh and cut him therewith; the Boy cried unto him, *Good Maſter do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will:* Nevertheleſs the then mercileſs and cruel Rebel there moſt barbarouſly murdered him.

A *Scotch* Man travelling in the High-way, with his Wife and Children, near ---------- were beſet by the Rebels, who wounded and ſtabb'd him with their Pikes, put him alive upon a Car, brought him to a ditch, and buried him alive, as the poor Wife afterwards (with great Grief) told him, this Deponent. 1641.

The Vicar of *Urras* turned Papiſt, and became Drummer to Captain *Bourk*, and was afterwards murdered for his pains by the Rebels.

Another *Scotch* Man, near *Ballehen*, was hanged by the Rebels.

Jurat. 30 *Decembris*, 1643.

John Goldſmith.

Henry Jones,
Henry Brereton.

The Examination of *Jane*, the Wife of *Thomas Stewart*, late of the Town and County of *Sligo*, Merchant; Sworn and Examined before His Majeſty's Commiſſioners in that behalf Authoriſed: Depoſeth and ſaith,

THAT after the preſent Rebellion was begun, *viz.* about the beginning of *December*, 1641. her ſaid Husband living as a Merchant in the Town aforeſaid, with her, this Deponent, as for twenty ſix Years he had done in very good Eſtate and Condition; and having continually furniſhed the Inhabitants of that Part thereabouts with all ſorts of Wares and Merchandiſe; and by that courſe having acquired and gained to himſelf an Eſtate of good value: He, the ſaid *Thomas Stewart*, and ſhe, this Deponent, then poſſeſſing that Eſtate, were then at *Sligo* aforeſaid, by *Andrew Crean*, of *Sligo*, Eſq; then High-Sheriff of that County, *Neil O Hart*, of *Donelly*, in the ſaid County, Gentleman; *Roger O Conner*, of *Skarden*, in the ſame County, Gentleman; *Donnel O Conner*, of ------; Gentleman, Brother-in-Law to *Teige O Conner Sligo*; *Richard O Crean*, of *Tirreragh*, Gentleman; *John O Crean*, Eſq; and a Juſtice of Peace, Son to the ſaid *Andrew Crean*; *Anthony Screan*, of ----------, near *Ballyſhany*, Gentleman, forcibly deprived, robbed and deſpoiled of their Houſhold-Goods, Wares, Merchandiſe, Specialties, Cattle, Horſes, Plate, Money, and other Goods and Cattles, of the value of one thouſand two hundred Pounds Sterling, or thereabouts: Which Robbery and Outrage The Province of *Conaught.*

1641. was committed in or about the beginning of *December* aforesaid, at the very time of the Rebels surprising, robbing and pillaging of all the *English* and *Scotch* of the Town of *Sligo*. In the doing whereof, not only the Persons, Rebels before-named, but also *Teige O Conner Sligo*, now of the Castle of *Sligo*, General of the Rebels in those Parts; *James French*, of *Sligo*, aforesaid, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace (a notorious and cruel Rebel) *Brian O Conner*, of *Drumcleer*, Gentleman; Captain *Charles O Conner*, a Fryar, and Captain *Hugh O Conner*, all three Captains, and Brothers to the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*; Captain *Patrick Plunket*, near *Killoony*, in the same County, a Justice of the Peace; Captain *Phelim O Conner*; Captain *Teige O Conner*, of the *Glan*; Captain *Con O Conner*, of the same; and divers others, whose Names she cannot for the present remember, were most forward and cruel Actors: And those Rebels having altogether deprived and stripped all the *British* of all their Estates they had, she, this Deponent, and her Husband, and many other *British*, were left in that Town; and among the rest, there were left there, which she can well remember, *viz. William Braxton*, the Deponent and her Husband and six Children; *James Stot* and his Son, of the Age of four or five Years, *Sampson Post* and his Wife, *Mary Post* and her Father (of the Age of seventy Years, or thereabouts) *John Little*, *Arthur Martin*, *William Dowlittle*, and his Wife and Children, *William Carter*, and *John Lewes*, and *Elizabeth* his Wife, *Robert Scyens*, *Elizabeth Harlow*, and one Woman that was great with Child, and within a Month of her time, *Isabel Beard*, who was great with Child, and very near her time, and others whom she cannot name; which *British* People (altho' they were promised fair Quarter, and taken into the Protection of the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*, who promised them a Collection) yet they were daily threatned to be murdered, if they would not turn Papists in one Month the then next after; which, for saving of their Lives, they were enforced to do: Notwithstanding which, about the sixth of *January* then next following, the said *O Conner Sligo* (having before called a Meeting of his Followers and Kindred, in the Counties of *Sligo* and *Letrim*, and conferred with them, and with a Covent of Fryars of the Abby of *Sligo* for three days together, where they sat in Council) all the Men, Women, and Children of the *British* that then could be found within the same Town (saving this Deponent, who was so sick that she could not stir) were summoned to go into the Goal, and as many as could be met withal, were carried and put into the Goal of *Sligo*, where about twelve a Clock in the Night they were stripped stark naked, and after most of them were most cruelly and barbarously murdered with Swords, Axes, and Skeins, and particularly by two Butchers, named *James Burs* and *Robert Burs* of

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of *Sligo*, who murdered many of them; wherein alſo were Actors, *Charles O Connor*, then Fryar, and *Hugh O Conner*, aforenamed, Brother to the ſaid *Teige O Conner Sligo*, and *Teige O Sheile*, *Kedagh O Hart*, Labourer, *Richard Walſh* and *Thomas Walſh*, the one the Jaylor, the other a Butcher, and divers others whom ſhe cannot name: And ſaith, that above thirty of the *Britiſh* which were ſo put into the Goal, were then and there murdered; beſides *Robert Gumble*, then Provoſt of the ſaid Town of *Sligo*, *Edward Newſham* and *Edward Mercer*, who were wounded and left for dead amongſt the reſt, and *Jo. Stewart*, this Deponent's Son, which four being the next day found alive, yet all beſmeared with Blood, were ſpared to live. All which particulars the Deponent was credibly told by thoſe that ſo eſcaped, and by her *Iriſh* Servants, and others of the Town; and ſaith, that ſome of the Women ſo murdered being big with Child (by their Wounds received) the very Arms and Legs of the Children in their Wombs appeared, and were thruſt out; and one Woman, *viz. Iſabel Beard*, being in the Houſe of the Fryars, and hearing the lamentable Cry that was made, ran into the Street, and was purſued by one of the Fryar's Men unto the River, where ſhe was barbarouſly murdered, and found the next day with the Child's feet appearing, and thruſt out of her Wounds in her ſides. And further ſaith, that on the ſaid ſixth day of *January* there were murdered in the Streets of the Town of *Sligo*, theſe *Britiſh* Proteſtants following, *viz. William Sheiles* and *John Sheiles*, his Son, *William Maqwel* and *Robert Akin*. And the Deponent further ſaith, (as ſhe was credibly informed by the Perſons before-named) that the inhuman Rebels, after their Murders committed in the ſaid Goal, laid and placed ſome of the dead Bodies of the naked murdered Men upon the naked Bodies of the Women, in a moſt immodeſt Poſture, not fit for chaſte Ears to hear: In which Poſture they continued to be ſeen the next Morning by thoſe *Iriſh* of the Town that came into the ſaid Goal, who were delighted and rejoyced in thoſe bloody Murders and uncivil Actions: And that they of the *Iriſh* that came to bury them, ſtood up to the mid-leg in the Blood and Brains of thoſe that were ſo murdered, who were carried out, and caſt into a Pit digged for that purpoſe in the Garden of Mr. *Ricroft's*, Miniſter of *Sligo*. And ſhe further ſaith, that whereas the River of *Sligo* was before very plentiful of Fiſh, it did not for a long time after thoſe Murders, afford any Fiſh at all: And this Deponent ſaw the Fryars in their white Habits, in great Companies in Proceſſion, going to ſanctify the Water, caſting thereinto Holy Water: She ſaith alſo, that the Prior of the Covent of *Sligo*, after the Murder of the ſaid Women in the River, fell frantick, and ran ſo about the Streets, and continued in that Frenzy for three or four Weeks, 1641.

and

1641. and ſaith, that of her ſix Children, three were ſtarved and died, after her releaſe out of Impriſonment, which had been for eighteen Months amongſt the Rebels.

Jurat. 23 *Aprilis*, 1644. *Signum prædict.* VVV.

Henry Jones,
Henry Brereton.

Jane Stewart, *alias* Menize.

Captain *Anthony Stratford*, of *Charlemount*, in the County of *Armagh*, Eſq; aged threeſcore Years, or thereabouts, Sworn and Examined before His Majeſty's Commiſſioners, by vertue of a Commiſſion in that behalf, directed under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, depoſeth and ſaith,

Province of *Ulſter.*

THAT theſe Proteſtant Miniſters following, about the beginning of the preſent Rebellion, were murdered in the Counties of *Tyrone* and *Armagh*, *viz.* Mr. *John Matthew*, Mr. *Blyth*, Mr. *Haſtings*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Durragh*, Mr. *Birge*, and eight more, whoſe Names this Deponent hath forgotten, by the Rebels, none of which would the Rebels permit to be buried; the Names of ſuch as murdered, this Examinant knoweth not; his cauſe of knowledge of the ſaid Murders is, that ſome of his, this Deponent's Servants, who were among the Rebels, did give him the Relation, and he verily believeth them; and beſides, this Deponent heard the ſame confeſſed and averred by many of the Rebels themſelves, and by ſome of thoſe Proteſtants that had eſcaped; and that he, this Deponent, was a Priſoner among the Rebels at *Caſtle-Caufield*, near the place of thoſe Murders, where he continued fourteen Months. And further ſaith, that in *Dungannon*, in the County of *Tyrone*, or near thereunto, the Rebels murdered three hundred and ſixteen Proteſtants; and between *Charlemount* and *Dungannon*, above four hundred; that there were murdered and drowned at and in the River by *Benburb*, the *Black-Water*, between the Counties of *Armagh* and *Tyrone*, two hundred and ſix Proteſtants; and *Patrick Mac-Crew* of *Dungannon* aforeſaid, murdered thirty one in one Morning; and two young Rebels, *viz.* *John Begbrian* and *Hary*, murdered in the ſaid County of *Tyrone*, one hundred and forty poor Women and Children that could make no reſiſtance; and that the Wife of *Brian Kelly* of *Loghal* in the County of *Armagh* (one of the Rebels Captains) did with her own hands murder forty five. And this Deponent further ſaith, that one *Thomas King*

King, ſometimes Serjeant to the late Lord *Caufield*'s Company (which this Deponent commanded) he being enforced to ſerve under the Rebels, and was one of the Provoſt-Marſhals, gave the Deponent a Liſt of every Houſholder's name ſo murdered, and the number of the Perſons ſo murdered; which Liſt this Deponent durſt not keep: At *Portadowne* there were drowned at ſeveral times about three hundred and eight, who were ſent away by about forty, or ſuch like Numbers at once, with Convoys, and there drowned: There was a *Lough* near *Loghgall* aforeſaid, where were drowned above two hundred, of which this Deponent was informed by ſeveral Perſons, and particularly by the Wife of Dr. *Hodges*, and two of her Sons, who were preſent and deſigned for the like end, but by God's Mercy that gave them favour in the Eyes of ſome of the Rebels, they eſcaped; and the ſaid Mrs. *Hodges* and her Sons gave the Deponent a Liſt of the Names of many of thoſe that were ſo drowned, which the Deponent durſt not keep; and ſaith, that the ſaid Dr. *Hodges* was imployed by Sir *Phelim O Neil* to make Powder; but he failing of his undertaking, was firſt half-hanged, then cut down, and kept Priſoner three Months, and then murdered with forty four more within a quarter of a Mile of *Charlemount* aforeſaid (they being by *Tirlogh O Neil*, brother to Sir *Phelim*, ſent to *Dungannon* Priſoners, and in the way murdered.) This Deponent was ſhewed the Pit where they were all caſt in. 1641.

At a Mill-Pond in the Pariſh of *Killamen* in the County of *Tyrone*, there were drowned in one Day 300; and in the ſame Pariſh there were murdered of *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* 1200, as this Deponent was informed by Mr. *Birge*, the late Miniſter of the ſaid Pariſh, who certified the ſame under his hand, which Note the Deponent durſt not keep: The ſaid Mr. *Birge* was murdered three Months after: All which murders were in the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion, but the particular times this Deponents cannot remember, neither the Perſons by whom they were committed. This Deponent was credibly informed by the ſaid Serjeant, and others of this Deponent's Servants (who kept company with the Rebels, and ſaw the ſame) that many young Children were cut into quarters and gobbets by the Rebels, and that eighteen *Scottiſh* Infants were hanged on a Clothier's Tenterhook, and that they murdered a young fat *Scotiſh* Man, and made Candles of his Greaſe; they took another *Scottiſh* Man and ripped up his Belly, that they might come to his ſmall Guts, the one end whereof they tied to a Tree, and made him go round until he had drawn them all out of his Body; they then ſaying, That they would try whether a Dog's or a *Scotch* Man's Guts were the longer.

Depoſed March 9. 1643. *before us*, *Anthony Stratford.*

Henry Jones.
Henry Brereton.

The

The Examination of *Robert Maxwell*, Clerk, Arch-Deacon of *Down*, Sworn and Examined, depoſeth and ſaith, *inter alia*.

1641. The Province of *Ulſter*.

THAT by command from Sir *Phelim O Neil*, the Rebels dragged the Deponent's Brother, Lieutenant *James Maxwell*, out of his Bed, in the rage and height of a burning Fever; and leſt any of his Acquaintance or Friends ſhould bury him, they carried him two miles from any Church, and there cruelly butchered him, when he neither knew what he did or ſaid; and thus Sir *Phelim* paid him two hundred and ſixty Pound which he owed him: And his Wife *Griſſel Maxwell* being in Child-birth, the Child half born and half unborn, they ſtript ſtrak naked, drove her about an Arrows flight to the *Black-water*, and drowned her: The like they did to another *Engliſh* Woman in the ſame Pariſh, in the beginning of the Rebellion, which was little inferiour, if not more unnatural and barbarous, than the roaſting of Mr. *Watſon* alive, after they had cut a Collop out of either Buttock. And farther ſaith, That a *Scottiſh* Woman was found in the *Glinwood* lying dead, her belly ripped up, and a living Child crawling in her Womb cut out of the Cawl; and that Mr. *Starkey*, School-Maſter at *Armagh*, he a Gentleman of good Parentage and Parts, being upwards of an hundred Years of Age, they ſtripped naked, cauſed two of his Daughters, Virgins, being likewiſe naked, to ſupport him under each Arm, he being not able to go of himſelf; and in that poſture carried them all three a quarter of a Mile, to a Turf-pit, and drowned them, feeding the luſts of their Eyes and the cruelty of their Hearts with the ſelf-ſame Objects at the ſame time. At the Siege of *Augher*, they would not kill any *Engliſh-Beaſt*, and then eat it, but they cut Collops out of them being alive, letting them there roar till they had no more fleſh upon their Backs, ſo that ſometimes a Beaſt would live two or three Days together in that Torment; the like they did at *Armagh*, when they murdered *Hugh Echlin* Eſq; they hanged and murder'd all his *Iriſh* Servants which had any way proved faithful or uſeful to him during this Rebellion. And as touching exemplary Conſtancy in Religion, this Deponent ſaith, That *Henry Cowel*, Eſq; a gallant and well bred Gentlemen, was murdered becauſe he would not conſent to marry a beaſtly Trull, *Mary Ny Neil*, a near Kinſwoman of Sir *Phelim's*: He was proffered his Life without the *Blouſe*, if he would have gone to Maſs, but he choſe rather to die, than to do either. There was made the like proffer of Life for going to Maſs, to *Robert Ecklin*, a Child of eleven or twelve Years of Age, but he alſo refuſed it, ſaying, *He ſaw nothing in their Religion for which he would change his own.* And this Deponent further ſaith, That very many of the *Britiſh* Proteſtants the Rebels buried alive, and took

took great pleasure to hear them speak unto them, as they digged down old Ditches upon them; except those whom they thus buried, they buried none of the Protestants, neither would permit any that survived to perform that duty for them: And further saith, That the Rebels would send their Children abroad in great Troops, especially near unto *Kinnard*, armed with long Wattles and Whips, who would therewith beat dead Men's Bodies about their privy Members, until they beat, or rather thrashed them off, and then would return in great joy to their Parents, who received them for such Service as it were in Triumph. And further saith, That if any Women were found dead lying with their Faces downward, they would turn them upon their Backs, and in great flocks resort unto them, censuring all parts of their Bodies, but especially such as are not fit to be named, which afterwards they abused so many ways, and so filthily, as chaste Ears would not endure the very naming thereof. 1641.

Many of the Protestants the Rebels would not kill out-right, but being half dead, would so leave them, entreating for no better favour at their hands two or Three Days after, but to kill them out-right, which sometimes was granted, sometimes denied.

A young Youth having his Back-bone broken, was found in a Field, having like a Beast eaten all the Gras round about him; the Deponent could not learn that they killed him out, but that they removed him to a place of better Pasture; so that in those most bloody and execrable Wretches, that of the Holy Ghost is verified, *The very mercy of the wicked is cruelty*. And further saith, That the Rebels themselves told him, this Deponent, that they murdered nine hundred fifty four in one morning in the County of *Antrim*; and that besides them, they supposed that they killed above eleven or twelve hundred more, in that County: They told him likewise, that Colonel *Bryan O Neil* kill'd about a thousand in the County of *Down*, besides three hundred kill'd near *Killeleigh*, and many hundreds both before and after in both those Counties.

At Sir *Phelim*'s return from *Lisnegarvy*, some of the Soldiers forced about twenty four *British* into a house, where they burned them alive, whose terrible Out-cries they desired very much to imitate and express unto others, and saith, That he heard Sir *Phelim* likewise report, that he killed six hundred *English* at *Garvagh* in the County of *Derry*; and that he had left neither Man, Woman, nor Child alive in the Barony of *Munterlony* in the County of *Tyrone*, and betwixt *Armagh* and the *Newry*, in the several Plantations and Lands of Sir *Archibald Atcheson*, *John Hamilton* Esq; the Lord *Caufield*, and the Lord *Mount Norris*. And saith also, That there were above 2000 of the *British* murdered for the most part in their own Houses, whereof he was inform'd by a *Scots-man*, who was in those Parts with Sir *Phelim*, and saw their Houses filled with their dead

1641. Bodies. In the *Glirrwood* towards *Dromore*, there were ſlaughter'd, as the Rebels told the Deponent, upwards of twelve thouſand in all, who were all killed in their flight to the County of *Down*: The number of the People drowned at the Bridge of *Portadown*, are diverſly reported according as Men ſtaid amongſt the Rebels; this Deponent who ſtaid as long as any, and had better intelligence than moſt of the *Engliſh* amongſt them, and had beſt reaſon to know the truth, ſaith, There were (by their own report) one hundred and ninety drowned with Mr. *Fullerton*: At another time they threw one hundred and forty over the ſaid Bridge; at another time thirty ſix, or thirty ſeven, and ſo continued drowning more or fewer, for ſeven or eight Weeks, ſo as the feweſt which can be ſuppoſed there to have periſhed, muſt needs be above one thouſand, beſides as many more drowned betwixt that Bridge and the great *Lough* of *Montjoy*, beſides thoſe who periſhed by the Sword, fire and famine, in *Coubraſſil*, and the *Engliſh* Plantations adjacent: Which in regard there eſcaped not three hundred out of all thoſe quarters, muſt needs amount to many thouſands.

Near unto the Deponent's Houſe thirty ſix Perſons were carried to the *Cure-bridge* at one time, and drowned. At another time ſix and fifty, Men, Women, and Children, all of them being taken out of the Deponent's Houſe; and at ſeveral other times ſeveral other numbers; beſides thoſe that were drowned in the Black-water at *Kinnard*. In which Town and the Pariſh of *Tinon* (whereof the Deponent was Rector) there was drowned, ſlaughtered and died of Famine, and for want of Clothes, about ſix hundred. The Deponent might add to theſe many thouſands more; but the Diary which he this Deponent wrote amongſt the Rebels being burned, with his Houſe, Books and all his Papers; he referreth himſelf to the number in groſs, which the Rebels themſelves have upon inquiry, found out and acknowledged; which notwithſtanding will come ſhort of all that have been murder'd in *Ireland*; there being above one hundred and fifty four thouſand now wanting of the *Britiſh* within the very precinct of *Ulſter*.

The numbers of *Britiſh* deſtroyed within the province of *Ulſter*.

And this Deponent further ſaith, That it was common Table-talk amongſt the Rebels, that the Ghoſt of Mr. *William Fullerton*, *Timothy Jephes*, and the moſt of thoſe who were thrown over *Portadown-bridge*, were daily and nightly ſeen to walk upon the River, ſometimes ſinging of Pſalms, ſometimes brandiſhing of naked Swords, ſometimes ſhrieching in a moſt hideous and fearful manner. The Deponent did not believe the ſame at firſt, neither doth he yet know whether to believe it or no; but ſaith that divers of the Rebels aſſured him that they themſelves did dwell near to the ſame River, and being daily affrighted with thoſe Apparitions, but eſpecially with their horrible ſhrieching, were in concluſion inforced to remove further into the Country: Their own Prieſts and Friers

could

could not deny the truth thereof. But as it was by the Deponent Objected unto them; they said it was but a cunning slight of the Devil to hinder this great Work of propagating the Catholick Faith, and killing of Hereticks; or that it was wrought by Witchcraft. The Deponent himself lived within thirteen Miles of the Bridge, and never heard any Man so much as doubt of the truth thereof. Howsoever, he obligeth no Man's Faith, in regard he saw it not with his own Eyes; otherwise he had as much certainty as morally could be required of such a matter. 1641.

And this Deponent further saith, That the degenerate *Pale-English*, were most cruel amongst the *British* Protestants, being beaten from their own Lands, and were never satisfied with their Blood, until they had in a manner seen the last drop thereof; affrighting Sir *Phelim O Neil* every Day with their Numbers, and perswading him, That whilst they (meaning the Protestants) lived, there would neither be room for them, nor safety for him. It was easie to spur on the cowardly and bloody Rebel; yet no sooner were the Protestants cut off, but contrary to their expectation, the meer *Irish* took present possession, of their Lands and Houses; whereat the *Pale-English* much grumbled; and said, Sir *Phelim* had not kept promise with them; howsoever, they were forced to swallow those and many other injuries.

And further saith, That he knew one Boy, that dwelt near unto himself, and not exceeding fourteen Years of Age, who killed at *Kinnard*, in one Night, fifteen able strong Men with his Skein, they being disarmed and most of their Feet in the Stocks.

Another not above twelve Years of Age, killed two Women at the Siege of *Augher*.

Another that was a Woman and Tenant to this Deponent, killed seven Men and Women, of her fellow *English* Tenants, in one Morning. And it was very usual in all parts, for the Rebels Children to murder the Protestants Children; and sometimes with Lath-Swords, heavy, and well sharpned, they would venture upon People of riper Years, cruelties not to be believed, if there were not so many Eye-witnesses of them.

Deposeth 22. of August, 1642.

Henry Brereton. *William Aldrich.*

The Examination of Dame *Anne Butler*, Wife unto Sir *Thomas* Butler of *Rathealin*, in the County of *Catherlagh*, Knight; duly Sworn, depoſeth,

1641. The Province of *Leinſter*.

THAT after *Walter Bagnal*, of *Dunlickny*, in the County of *Catherlagh*, Eſq; and *Walter Butler*, with a great number of Men, had in a violent manner entered this Deponent's Houſe, they not able to reſiſt, they ſet ſtrict guard over this Deponent, her Husband and Family, and brought them from their ſettled Dwelling unto *Loghlin*-Bridge, where they kept her ſelf, her Husband, and Children in reſtraint for two Weeks, and from thence conveyed them with a ſtrict Guard to *Kilkenny*; and there they were brought before the Lord *Mount Garrot*; where *Walter Bagnal* and *James Butler*, Brother to the Lord *Mount Garrot*, did uſe all means poſſible to move the ſaid Lord to put this Deponent, her Husband and Family, to death and torture; alledging, that they were rank Puritan Proteſtants; and deſperately provoking, uſed theſe words, ſaying, *There's but one way, we or they*, meaning Papiſts and Proteſtants, *muſt periſh*. To which malicious Provocation the ſaid Lord did not hearken. And this Deponent further depoſeth, That *Walter Bagnal*, with his rebellious Company, apprehended *Richard Lake* an *Engliſh* Proteſtant, and his Servant, with his Wife and four Children, and one *Richard Taylor*, of *Loghlin*-Bridge, his Wife and Children, *Samuel Hatter* of the ſame, his Wife and Children, an *Engliſh* Woman called *Jone*, and her Daughter, and was credibly informed by *Dorothy Renals*, who had been ſeveral times an Eye-witneſs of theſe lamentable Spectacles, that ſhe had ſeen to the number of five and thirty *Engliſh* going to Execution; and that ſhe had ſeen them when they were executed, their Bodies expoſed to devouring Ravens, and not afforded ſo much as Burial. Another *Engliſh* Woman, who was newly delivered of two Children in one Birth, they violently compelled her in her great pain and ſickneſs, to riſe from her Child-bed, and took the Infant that was left alive, and daſhed his Brains againſt the Stones, and after threw him into the River of the *Barrow*: And having a piece of Salmon to dinner, Mr. *Brian Cavanagh*'s Wife being with her, ſhe, the ſaid Mrs. *Cavanagh*, refuſed to eat any part of the Salmon; and being demanded the reaſon, ſhe ſaid ſhe would never eat any Fiſh that came out of the *Barrow*, becauſe ſhe had ſeen ſeveral Infants Bodies, and other Carkaſes of the *Engliſh* taken up in the Wear.

And this Deponent ſaith, That Sir *Edward Butler* did credibly inform her, that *James Butler* of *Finyhinch* had hanged and put to death all the *Engliſh* that were at *Goran* and *Wells*, and all thereabouts. And further depoſeth,

depoſeth, That ſhe being in *Kilkenny* a Priſoner in reſtraint, and having intelligence that ſome of her own Cattle were brought thither by *Walter Bagnal*, ſhe petitioned (being in great Extremity) to the Lord of *Mount Garrot*, to procure her ſome of her own Cattle for her Relief; whereupon he recommended her Suit to the Mayor and Corporation of *Kilkenny*; who concluded, becauſe ſhe and her Family were Proteſtants, and would not turn to Maſs, they ſhould have no Relief. *Jane Jones*, Servant to the Deponent, did ſee the *Engliſh* formerly ſpecified, going to their Execution; and as ſhe conceived they were about the number of 35; and was told by *Elizabeth Homes*, that there were 40 gone to Excution. 1641.

Jurat. 7 *Septem.* 1642. *Anne Butler.*

John Watſon.

The Examination of *Joſeph Wheeler* of *Stancarty* in the County of *Kilkenny*, Eſq; *Elizabeth* the Relict of Lieutenant *William Gilbert*, of Captain *Ridgway*'s Company; *Rebecca Hill*, the Relict of *Thomas Hill*, late Lieutenant to the ſaid Captain *Ridgway*; *Thomas Lewis*, late of *Kilkenny*, Gent. *Jonas Wheeler* of *Stancarty* aforeſaid, Gent. and *Patrick Maxwell* of the *Graige* in the ſame County, Gent. Sworn and Examined, Depoſe and Say,

THAT about *Eaſter* 1642, one *Ricard Phillips* and five others, who were old Gariſon Soldiers, then under the Command of Captain *Farrel*, a Captain of his Majeſty's party, were, by the Command of the Lord *Mount Garrot*, at the End of a Houſe in *Kilkenny*, hanged to Death by that cruel and bloody Rebel and Provoſt-Marſhal, *Thomas Cantwell* of *Cantwell-Court*, Eſq; or ſome of his Servants or Soldiers in his preſence, who would hardly ſuffer them to ſay their Prayers after they were taken out of the Priſon before they were put to death; thoſe poor Men dying very patiently and reſolutely, in the maintenance of the Proteſtant Faith; but one of them, becauſe he was an *Iriſh* man, was offered his Life if he would turn Papiſt, but he choſe rather death, which he quickly had with the other five: And further ſaith, that a little before *Chriſtmas* 1644. Mr. *William Hill* of the Abby of ---------- in the *Queens County*, Eſq; and the ſaid Lieutenant *Thomas Hill* his Son, coming to *Kilkenny*, to fetch home *Mary* The Province of *Leinſter*.

1641. *Mary Hill*, the Wife of him the ſaid *William Hill*, and the ſaid *Rebecca*; one of theſe Deponents were then and there ſent for by the Lord *Mount Garrot*, and by him committed priſoners to the Goal of *Kilkenny*; where they continued in a dark Dungeon bolted for two Months, but were offered freedom if they would join with the Rebels, and become Papiſts; but they refuſed: and after the ſaid Lord *Mount Garrot* was gone into *Munſter* with his Forces, (which was an example to all the reſt of the wicked *Iriſh* there to riſe into Rebellion) one *Florence Fitz-Patrick* of *Caſtletowne* in the *Queens County* Eſq; a Captain of the Rebels, and his Soldiers came to *Kilkenny*, and then and there (without reſiſtance of any) broke open the Goal there, and forcibly took and carried away with them into *Oſſory* aforeſaid, the ſaid *William* and *Thomas Hill*, where they kept them in miſerable durance for ſome time, and then hanged them both; and a poor young Girl being ſent from the Town of *Ballinekill* to ſee what was become of them, and the ſaid *Florence Fitz-Patrick* meeting her, cauſed her to be half hanged, then let down, and after to be buried quick: And by report of one *Jone Grace* (that ſaid ſhe was an Eye-witneſs) the Rebels threw the dead body of the ſaid *William* and *Thomas Hill*, into a Saw-pit, leaving them ſo far unburied, that their Heads and Legs lay bare, until ſhe came and cover'd them with Earth, about a week after: And further ſaith, that they have credibly heard and believed, That the ſaid *Florence Fitz-Patrick* having enticed a rich Merchant of *Montwrath* to his the ſaid *Fitz-Patrick's* Houſe, to bring thither his Goods which he promiſed ſhould be ſafely protected, and ſafely re-delivered; he, the ſaid *Florence Fitz-Patrick*, poſſeſſing thoſe Goods, afterwards cauſed the ſaid Merchant and his Wife to be hanged; and they have credibly heard, that the ſaid *Florence Fitz-Patrick* alſo hanged Lieutenant *Keis* and his Son, one *Hughes* a School-maſter, and divers other Proteſtants: And theſe Deponents further ſay, that Mr. *Edmond Butler*, eldeſt Son to the Lord *Mount Garrot*, *Edward Butler* his ſecond Son, Captain *Garret Blankfield*, and divers other rebellious Commanders and Soldiers, to the number of 6 or 700 Horſe and Foot a little before *Michaelmas* 1642, marched from *Ballinagget* near to the Iron Forge of *Ballinekill*, and there met with Lieutenant *Gilbert* aforenamed Enſign, *William Alfry* the younger, Mr. *Thomas Bingham* the Miniſter, *Robert Graves*, *Richard Bently*, and about ſixty more of the *Engliſh Soldiers*, both the ſame parties joyned in Battle; but the *Engliſh Soldiers*, though fighting valiantly, and killing many Rebels (and one *Walter Butler* a Captain, among the reſt) were at the laſt ſo overcome with multitudes of the Rebels, that then and there they, the ſaid *Lieutenant Gilbert*, *William Alfry*, *Thomas Bingham*, *Robert Graves*, *Richard Bently*, and two other *Engliſh* Soldiers were abſolutely ſlain, and the Heads of thoſe ſeven carried to *Kilkenny* by thoſe Rebels (their pipes

for

for joy playing before them on horſe-back) and on a market-day which happened to be on the next day following, thoſe heads as triumphs of their Victories, there brought out and ſet upon the Market-croſs, where the Rebels, but eſpecially the Women there, and amongſt the reſt *Elice Butler*, a reputed Mother of ſeveral baſtards, yet the daughter of the ſaid *Mount Garret*, ſtab'd, cut and ſlaſht thoſe heads (the ſaid *Elice Butler* drawing her Skein, ſlaſht at the face of the ſaid *William Alfry*, and hit him on the noſe, and thoſe that could but get a blow or ſtab at thoſe heads, ſeemed to account themſelves happy: And the Rebels then and there put a gag in the mouth of the ſaid *Thomas Bingham* the Miniſter, and laying the leaf of a Bible before him, bade him preach, ſaying his mouth was open and wide enough, and one of thoſe lewd Virago's that had no weapons, ſtruck one of the heads ſo with her hand, that the ſame night her hand grew black and blew, rankled, and ſhe was extremely lame with it a quarter of a year after, and that lameneſs and the ſwelling thereof growing to an Iſſue, is like to continue till ſhe die: and another of thoſe Women that with great rejoycing went and ſaw thoſe heads, did quickly after the ſight thereof fall into ſuch an aſtoniſhment and diſtraction, that for three or four days after ſhe could not ſleep nor reſt, but cried out that ſtill ſhe ſaw thoſe heads before her eyes, which heads being ſaid by the Rebels to be the heads of Hereticks, were not afforded Chriſtian Burial, but buried without the City in a croſs high-way altogether in a hole; the buriers chopping and cutting the heads with their Spades as they threw mold upon them. And to make the manner of their Burial, and the heads themſelves yet more contemptible; the Rebels (over the hole where the heads were laid) ſet up a long ſtick, whereto they fixed papers, that all may take notice of the place: And after, and from that time, the rebellious roguiſh Boys, took up, and frequently uſed an Oath, *By the Croſs of the ſeven Devils Heads buried on Saint James's Green.* And further ſay, that upon the teſtimony of a roguiſh Boy, that an *Engliſh* Man that was a Mauliſter to one *Richard Shaw* of *Kilkenny*, had ſaid, *He would believe the Devil, as ſoon as the Pope*; the cruel Rebel, the Provoſt Marſhal *Cantwell* aforenamed, ſuddenly took and hanged him up in an Apple-tree till he died: And further ſaith, that one *Uneil Grace*, and divers other Rebels in *Kilkenny*, broke open the doors of the Cathedral Church there, and robbed the ſame Church, of the Chalices, Surplices, Ornaments, Books, Records and Writings there being; and made Gunpowder in St *Patrick's* Church, and digged the Tombs and Graves in the Churches in *Kilkenny*, under colour of getting up molds whereon to make Gunpowder: And theſe Deponents have credibly heard, and verily believe, that the Rebels at *Goran* took 25 Proteſtants, Men, Women and Children, pretending and promiſing to them a Convoy to *Dungannon*, hanged them dead in the way, 1641.

in

1641. in a Wood near *Newroſs*, and that the Rebels half hanged five more Proteſtants at *Balliragget*, by the command of the ſaid Captain *Edward Butler*, and the ſaid *Thomas Cantwell* the Marſhal, and letting them down again before they were dead, ſuffered them ſomewhat to recover, and then buried them quick: And theſe Deponents *Thomas Lewis*, *Patrick Maxwell*, further ſay, That as they have been credibly told by *Walter Archer* of *Kilkenny* a Rebel, that a poor *Engliſh* Man's Wife that went out to gather ſticks, at a place about two miles from *Kilkenny*, was taken and hanged up by the Rebels: And the Deponents *Elizabeth Gilbert*, *Patrick Maxwel*, further ſay, That a poor Woman and two Children, ſhe being the Wife of one *Harvy* of *Balinekill*, coming to *Kilkenny* about Candlemas was twelve month, were then and there aſſaulted and ſet upon by the rebellious Inhabitants of that City, and hunted, baited, and drawn with Dogs, cruelly ſtab'd with Skeins, and ſo miſerably uſed, that one of the Children died preſently (having the guts pluckt out) and the Deponent *Patrick Maxwell* further ſaith, That there were taken out of *Graige* by the Rebels, and hanged to death, one *John Stone* and his Wife and his Son, *William Valentine*, *Robert Pym* and his Wife, one of their Children of a year and a half old, and *Thomas White* a Merchant and his Wife, who being great with child, had her belly ripped up after ſhe was hanged, ſo as the child fell out of the cawl alive; *Walter Sherly*, Mrs. *Joan Salter* an ancient Widow, one *John* a ſervant to *Stone* aforenamed; the Rebels that hanged them were *Garret Forreſtal* of *Knockive*, and *Gibbon Forreſtal* of *Tynyhinch*, and the eldeſt ſon of *Richard Barron*, alias *Fitz-Geraldin* of *Knockeen* aforeſaid, and divers others whom ſhe cannot name, all of the County of *Caterlagh*; which ſaid *Robert Pym* after he was hanged up twice, proved alive in his grave, and ſtruck his hand upon his breaſt, ſaying, *Chriſt receive my Soul*, and with thoſe Words in his mouth was then and there buried quick; and one of thoſe poor Proteſtants at *Goran*, by name *Triſtrum Robinſon*, the Rebels hanged him twice, thruſt him through with darts, but he ſtill continuing alive, and ſpeaking, they buried him quick: And this Deponent *Jonas Wheeler* farther ſaith, That one *Engliſh* Proteſtant, who was a Shepherd, and his Wife going from *Kilkenny* towards *Ballidownell*, the Rebels hanged up the poor old man, and going a little off, his Wife perceiving breath in her Husband, ſaid unto him, *Oh joy you are alive yet*; which when ſome of the Rebels over-hearing, hanged him outright, and dragged him up and down until his bowels fell out, then his wife deſired them to hang her too, but they refuſed. And ſaith, That this Deponent asking the Rebels of *Kilkenny*, how they durſt do what they did, conſidering the King was againſt them? They anſwered, That if the King would not hold with them, they could have forty Thouſand to come to aſſiſt them out of *France* and *Spain*, and bring Ammunition and Arms enough,

enough, and all things neceſſary, and fight againſt the King and the *Engliſh*: And the Deponent, *Elizabeth Gilbert* further ſaith, That ſhe heard one *James Euſtace*, a Servant to the Rebel, Colonel *Cullen*, ſay publickly in Mr. *Joſeph Wheeler's* Houſe in *Kilkenny*, Let the King take heed, for if they (meaning the *Iriſh*) had not their own deſires, they would bring in a foreign King; and one *Triſtram Dyer*, a Proteſtant, was (as his Wife told this Deponent) murdered in a Wood with his own Hatchet, and covered with Leaves and Moſs. 1641.

Examinations touching the Apparitions at *Portnedown*-Bridge, within the Province of *Ulſter*.

James Shaw of *Market-Hill* in the County of *Armagh*, Inn-keeper, Depoſeth, That many of the *Iriſh* Rebels, in the time of this Deponent's reſtraint, and ſtaying among them, told him very often, and that it was a common Report that all thoſe that lived about the Bridge of *Portnedown*, were ſo affrighted with the cries and noiſe made there of ſome Spirits or Viſions for revenge, as that they durſt not ſtay but fled away thence; (ſo as they proteſted,) affrighted to *Market-Hill*, ſaying, They durſt not ſtay nor return thither for fear of thoſe Cries and Spirits, but took Grounds and made Creates in or near the Pariſh of *Mullabrack*, *Jurat. Aug.* 14. 1642.

Joan, the Relict of *Gabriel Conſtable*, late of *Drumard* in the County of *Armagh*, Gentleman, depoſeth and ſaith, That ſhe hath often heard the Rebels, *Owen O Farren*, *Patrick O Conellan*, and divers others of the Rebels at *Drumard*, earneſtly ſay, proteſt and tell one another, that the Blood of ſome of thoſe that were knock'd in the heads, and afterwards drowned at *Portnedown*-Bridge, ſtill remained on the Bridge, and would not be waſhed away; and that often there appeared viſions or apparitions, ſometimes of Men, ſometimes of Women, breaſt-high above the Water, at or near *Portnedown*, which did moſt extreamly and fearfully ſcriech and cry out for vengeance againſt the *Iriſh* that had murdered their bodies there; and that their crys and ſcrieches did ſo terrify the *Iriſh* thereabouts, that none durſt ſtay, nor live longer there, but fled and removed further into the Country, and this was a common report amongſt the Rebels there, and that it paſs'd for a truth amongſt them, for any thing ſhe could ever obſerve to the contrary. *Jurat. Jan.* 1. 1643.

Katherine, the Relict of *William Coke*, late of the County of *Armagh*, Carpenter, ſworn and examined, ſaith, That about the twentieth of *December*, 1641. a great number of Rebels in that County, did moſt barba-

1641. rously drown at that time one hundred and eighty Proteſtants, Men, Women and Children in the River, at the Bridge of *Portnedown*; and that about nine days afterwards, ſhe ſaw a Viſion or Spirit in the ſhape of a Man, as ſhe apprehended, that appeared in that River, in the place of the drowning, bolt upright Breaſt-high, with hands lifted up, and ſtood in that poſture there, until the latter end of Lent next following: About which time ſome of the *Engliſh* Army marching in thoſe Parts, whereof her Husband was one (as he and they confidently affirmed to this Deponent) ſaw that Spirit or Viſion ſtanding upright, and in the poſture aforementioned; but after that time, the ſaid Spirit or Viſion vaniſhed, and appeared no more that ſhe knoweth. And ſhe heard, but ſaw not, that there were other Viſions and Apparitions, and much ſcrieching and ſtrange noiſe heard in that River at times afterwards. *Jurat.* Feb. 24. 1643.

Elizabeth, the Wife of Captain *Rice Price*, of *Armagh*, depoſeth and ſaith, That ſhe and other Women, whoſe Husbands were murdered, hearing of divers Apparitions and Viſions which were ſeen near *Portnedown*-Bridge, ſince the drowning of her Children, and the reſt of the Proteſtants there, went unto the Bridge aforeſaid about twilight in the Evening; then and there upon a ſudden appeared unto them a Viſion or Spirit, aſſuming the ſhape of a Woman, waſte-high upright in the Water, naked, with elevated and cloſed hands, her hair hanging down, very white, her eyes ſeemed to twinkle, and her skin as white as Snow; which Spirit ſeemed to ſtand ſtraight up in the Water, often repeating the word, **Revenge! Revenge! Revenge!** whereat this Deponent and the reſt being put into a ſtrange amazement and affright, walked from the place. *Jurat.* Jan. 29. 1642.

Arthur Culm, of *Clowaughter*, in the County of *Cavan*, Eſq; depoſeth, That he was credibly informed by ſome that were preſent there, that there were thirty Women and young Children, and ſeven Men flung into the River of *Belterbert*; and when ſome of them offered to ſwim for their Lives, they were by the Rebels followed in Cots, and knocked on the head with Poles; the ſame day they hanged two Women at *Turbert*; and this Deponent doth verily believe, that *Mulmore O Rely*, the then Sheriff, had a hand in the commanding the Murder of thoſe ſaid Perſons, for that he ſaw him write two Notes which he ſent to *Turbert* by *Bryan O Rely*, upon whoſe coming theſe Murders were committed: And thoſe Perſons who were preſent alſo affirmed, that the Bodies of theſe thirty Perſons drowned did not appear upon the Water till about ſix Weeks after paſt; as the ſaid *Rely* came to the Town, all the Bodies came floating up to the very Bridge; thoſe Perſons were all formerly ſtayed in the Town by his Protection, when the reſt of their Neighbours in the Town went away.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth Price, Wife of *Michael Price*, of the *Newry*, depoſeth, That Sir *Con Mac-Gennis* ſuffered his Soldiers, the Rebels, to kill Mr. *Turge*, Miniſter of the *Newry*, and ſeveral other Proteſtants; and he, the ſaid Sir *Con Mac-Gennis*, on his Death-bed, was ſo much affrighted with apprehenſion that the ſaid Mr. *Turge* ſo ſlain, was ſtill in his preſence, as that he commanded no Proteſtant from that time ſhould be ſlain, but what ſhould be killed in Battle; and after his death, Sir *Con Mac-Gennis*, his Brother, would have obſerved his directions, but one *John Mac-Gennis*, the young Lord of *Evah* and *Monk Crely*, were earneſt to have all the reſt of the Proteſtants put to death. 1641.

Mr. *George Creighton*, Miniſter of *Virginia*, in the County of *Cavan*, depoſeth, among other Particulars in his Examination, That divers Women brought into his Houſe a young Woman almoſt naked, to whom a Rogue came upon the way, theſe Women being preſent, and required her to give him her Money or elſe he would kill her, and ſo drew his Sword; her anſwer was, *You cannot kill me unleſs GOD give you leave, and his Will be done:* Whereupon the Rogue thruſt three times at her naked Body with his drawn Sword, and yet never pierced her skin; whereat he being, as it ſeems, much confounded, went away and left her; and that he ſaw this Woman, and heard this particular related by divers Women, who were by and ſaw what they reported.

Upon the view of theſe Examinations, all taken upon Oath, it may eaſily be conjectured how fatally the firſt Plot took, how furiouſly the Rebels throughout all parts of the Kingdom proceeded on in their barbarous bloody Executions, and what were the Courſes they held to bring about ſo ſuddenly the univerſal deſtruction of all the *Britiſh* and Proteſtants there planted. It is moſt true, that in *Munſter* and *Leinſter* (and yet one would ſcarce believe it that conſiders the horrid Particulars related in the fore-recited Examinations of thoſe two Provinces) they were not generally ſo bloody, neither did they begin their Work ſo early as in the Provinces of *Ulſter* and *Conaught*. The ill ſucceſs of the Enterpriſe upon the Caſtle of *Dublin* did cool them for a time, put them to a ſtand, and cauſed them to take up new Counſels: But when they had once declared themſelves, they did in very few days ſtrip and deſpoil all the *Engliſh* ſettled among them, and drove great numbers of them even ſtark naked to ſeveral Ports on the Sea-ſide, there to provide themſelves Paſſage for *England*, or otherways moſt miſerably to ſtarve and periſh, as many of them did, being inhumanly denied any kind of Relief in thoſe Towns under the command of the Rebels. And here I muſt not forget to interpoſe this certain Truth, That in all the four Provinces the horrid Cruelties uſed towards the *Britiſh*, either in their bloody Maſſacres, or mercileſs deſpoiling, ſtripping, and extirpation of them, were generally

The Cruelties acted by the *Iriſh* upon the *Britiſh* were before any provocation given them.

1641. acted in moſt parts of the Kingdom before they could gather themſelves together, to make any conſiderable Reſiſtance againſt their Fury; and before the State had aſſembled their Forces, or were enabled by the Power of his Majeſty's Arms to make any Inroads into the Counties poſſeſſed by the Rebels: A Circumſtance which totally deſtroyeth all thoſe vain Pretences and fond Recriminations, which they have ſince moſt falſly taken up to palliate this their moſt abominable Rebellion. And this is not to be denied, though it be alſo true, that thoſe *Britiſh* whom they ſuffered to live among them, either upon condition of change of their Religion, out of private intereſt, or ſuch as they kept in Priſon, were not put to the Sword, until the Rebels, in the ſeveral Encounters they had with his Majeſty's Forces, ſuffered loſs of their Men, and ſo being enraged therewith at their return home after any diſaſter, they fell furiouſly to take revenge upon ſuch *Britiſh*, whether Men, Women, or Children, as they held in moſt miſerable Captivity with them. How far their Madneſs, Fury, and moſt implacable Malice, did, after the manner of brute Beaſts, tranſport them towards the deſtruction of thoſe miſerable harmleſs Souls they detained among them, doth clearly appear by ſeveral particulars expreſſed in ſeveral Examinations. I ſhall here inſert ſome of them taken upon truſt from Perſons of good Quality and Credit, who were long Priſoners among them.

The Cruelty of the *Iriſh* in murdering thoſe Proteſtants which remained among them when at any time they received any loſs by the *Engliſh* Forces.

I find in one part of Dr. *Maxwel*'s Examination (which I thought not fit wholly to inſert, becauſe it is of great length, and many particulars in it, nothing tending to that purpoſe for which it is formerly mentioned) That about *May* 1642. when the *Scotiſh* Army under the command of General Major *Monro* had marched down from *Carickfergus*, taken in the *Newry*, beaten the *Iriſh* out of thoſe Parts with the ſlaughter of many of them; Sir *Phelim O Neal* cauſed five thouſand *Britiſh*, whom he detained in *Armagh*, *Tyrone*, and other Parts of the North, to be moſt miſerably murdered in the ſpace of three days: *James Shaw*, of *Market-Hill* in the County of *Armagh*, depoſeth and ſaith, That during the time this Deponent was in reſtraint, and ſtayed among the Rebels, he obſerved and well knew, that the greateſt part of the Rebels in the County of *Armagh* went to beſiege the Caſtle of *Augher*, where they were repulſed, and divers of the Rebels of the *Sept* of *O Neals* ſlain: In revenge whereof, the grand Rebel, Sir *Phelim O Neal* gave direction and warrant to one *Mulmory Mac-Donel*, a moſt cruel and mercileſs Rebel, to kill all the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* within the Pariſhes of *Mullebrack*, *Logilly* and *Kilcluny*; whereupon the ſaid Rebel did murder twenty ſeven *Scotiſh* and *Engliſh* Proteſtants within Musket-ſhot of this Deponent's own Houſe; and further ſaith, that in thoſe three Pariſhes there have been before that and ſince, by killing, drowning, and ſtarving, put to death above one thouſand five hundred Proteſtants within the ſaid three Pariſhes.

William

William Fitz-Gerald a Clerk, of *Iriſh* Birth, dwelling near *Armagh*, and there reſiding when this Rebellion brake out, depoſeth and ſaith, That all places of the North where Sir *Phelim O Neil* under the name of General of the Catholick Army commanded, were filled with murders of the Proteſtants: And that when at *Augher*, *Liſnagarvy*, or any other Places the Rebels received loſs of their Men, thoſe that eſcaped, exerciſed their cruelty upon the Proteſtants every where at their return: And that about the firſt of *May* 1642. when Sir *Phelim O Neal* had notice of the taking of the *Newry* by his Majeſty's Forces, he retired that Night in all haſte to the Town of *Armagh*, and the next Day as well the Town of *Armagh* as the Cathedral Church there, and all the Villages and Houſes in the Country round about, together with all Proviſions were fired by the Rebels; and many Men, Women and Children murdered as well in the Town as in the Country round about. 1641.

There is much more to be ſaid on this ſubject, but I ſhall forbear to rake further into many other foul Circumſtances, which would make this Rebellion appear far more odious and deteſtable. I ſhall now return to take up the publick affairs of State, where I left them in the Hands of the Lords Juſtices and Council, who finding the City to grow daily more and more impeſtred with Strangers, by reaſon of the reſort of great numbers of ill affected Perſons that daily made repair thereunto; they iſſued out ſeveral other Proclamations to prohibit the acceſs of all Strangers to the Town, and to require ſuch as remained in the City without calling or ſettled Habitation, to depart.

Some Troops of Horſe and Regiments of Foot raiſed by the Lords Juſtices and Council.

Sir *Henry Tichborn* being diſpatched with his Regiment of Foot to *Tredagh* as is formerly mention'd, the Lords Juſtices took further Order for the preſent raiſing of other Foot Companies; as likewiſe ſome Troops of Horſe which might ſerve for the defence of the City of *Dublin*, now in moſt imminent Danger, by reaſon of the approaches made by the Forces of the Rebels. Sir *Charles Coot* had a Commiſſion for a Regiment, which he quickly made up out of the poor ſtript *Engliſh*, who had repaired from divers parts even naked to the Town, and upon the engagements of the State procured cloaths for them. The Lord *Lambert* to whom a Commiſſion alſo was granted for the raiſing of another Regiment, began alſo to get ſome Men together. The Earl of *Ormonde* was now arrived in *Dublin*, and brought up with him his Troop conſiſting of one hundred Curaſſiers compleatly armed: Sir *Thomas Lucas* who had long commanded a Troop of Horſe in the *Low-Countries*, and Captain *Armſtrong*, ſometime after, yet very ſeaſonably, came thither: Both of them had Money impreſted, Sir *Thomas Lucas* to compleat his Troop already brought out of *England*, Captain *Armſtrong* to raiſe a new Troop; Captain *Tarner* alſo arrived ſoon after at *Dublin*, he was ſent out of *England* by the Lord Lieu-

1641. Lieutenant to raiſe and command his Troop, which in a very ſhort time he made up about 100 Horſe, many Perſons then living in the Town being deſirous to put themſelves and their Horſes into that Troop: Not long after Colonel *Craford* came over alſo, and bringing with him Letters of Recommendations from the *Prince Elector* then attending his Majeſty in *Scotland*, under whom he had formerly the command of a Regiment of Dragoons in *Germany*: The Lords Juſtices thought fit to give him a Regiment which they were then taking order to raiſe and arm out of ſuch Townſmen as were fit to bear Arms within the City of *Dublin*; none were to be admitted into it but Proteſtants, and out of them they made choice not only of the Soldiers, but of all the Officers belonging to the ſame. And further for the repreſſing of the diſorders daily appearing within the City, and reſtraining the ill affections of the Papiſts there inhabiting, they made Sir *Charles Coot* Governour of the City, and gave him an allowance of forty Shillings *per diem* for the preſent. Now while theſe Colonels and Captains are beſtirring themſelves in getting their Men together under their ſeveral commands, and in training them up to the uſe of their Arms: And the Governour of the Town taking ſtrict Order for conſtant Watches within, and Guards without to reſtrain the repair of all ſuſpicious and ill-affected Perſons: I ſhall in the mean time give an account of the adjournment of the Parliament according to the late Prorogation made by the Lords Juſtices, which ſome of the ill-affected members of both Houſes endeavoured to make uſe of for the raiſing of further Troubles.

Sir *Charles Coot* made Governor of the City of *Dublin*.

In the Month of *Auguſt* before the Rebellion brake out, the Parliament was adjourned to the 17th of *November* next enſuing: Now upon the diſcovery of the late Conſpiracy for the ſurprize of his Majeſty's Caſtle of *Dublin*, the ordinary Place of meeting for both Houſes of Parliament; the Lords finding that the fire was begun in the North, and fearing a general revolt of all other parts of the Kingdom, reſolved as a matter highly tending to the ſafety and ſecurity of the City and Caſtle, to Prorogue the Parliament, which they did by Proclamation then ſet out, until the 24th of *February*. But two or three Days before ſuch of the Lords and Commons then in the Town were to meet of courſe in their ſeveral Houſes for declaring the ſaid Prorogation, it was generally noiſed abroad that the putting off the Parliament was extreamly ill taken by the Popiſh Members of both Houſes, Mr. *Burk* who was one of the Committee lately employed into *England*, came to the Lord *Dillon* of *Kilkenny* Weſt, and highly complaining of the injury which (he ſaid) was done thereby to the whole Nation, hindring them from expreſſing their loyal Affections to his Majeſty, and ſhewing their deſires to quell this dangerous Rebellion, and that they had reaſon to reſent it ſo far, as to com-

The adjournment of the Parliament.

plain

plain to the King thereof, as a point of high injuſtice; his Lordſhip having acquainted the Board herewith, Mr. *Burk* was preſently ſent for, and he uſed the ſame Language in effect there, though with much modeſty. 1641.

Hereupon the Lords fell into debate what was fit to be done, and how far it might be thought reaſonable in them to condeſcend to their deſires: Some were of Opinion that it was fit to diſanul the Prorogation, and to give them leave to continue the Parliament according to the firſt adjournment made the beginning of *Auguſt*. They urged the very ill condition of the whole Kingdom in regard of the Northern Rebellion, and that thoſe of the Counties of *Wicklow* and *Wexford*, as well as ſome other Counties in *Conaght* had alreadi joyned themſelves to them; that this Prorogation might peradventure ſo irritate the *Pale*, and have ſuch an influence into *Munſter* as might raiſe them into Arms, and ſo put the whole Kingdom into a general Combuſtion. Others for the Board Voted ſtrongly for the holding of the Prorogation according to the time prefixed by the Proclamation, grounding their Opinion upon theſe reaſons; firſt, That it would highly trench upon the gravity and wiſdom of the Board to alter a reſolution ſo ſolemnly taken up, after a moſt ſerious debate and publickly made known throughout the whole Kingdom by Proclamation; That it would be of moſt dangerous conſequence to bring ſo great a multitude of People to the City in ſuch dangerous times; that the Proteſtants and well-affected Members of both Houſes were for the moſt part either deſtroyed, diſperſed, or ſo ſhut up as they could not repair to the preſent meeting, and that therefore the *Iriſh* would be ſuperiour in number and voices, and ſo wholly carry all things according to their own humour, that conſidering the ſmall Forces then in the City, ſuch great numbers as might take occaſion under colour of coming to the Parliament, to repair thither, could not be admitted without apparent danger and diſturbance, and that peradventure they might there find as ill affections as they brought, and ſo both joyning together, they might eaſily deſtroy the State with the poor remainders of the *Engliſh* Nation in theſe parts: Whereupon the Lords thought fit to hold to their Prorogation, yet to endeavour ſo to attemper and ſweeten it, as thoſe who were moſt averſe, might in ſome meaſure reſt ſatisfied therewith. And therefore after a long debate of all particular circumſtances, they came at length to this reſolution, that the Earl of *Ormonde*, the Maſter of the Rolls, and Sir *Pierce Crosby*, three Members of the Board, ſhould have a meeting with Mr. *Darcy*, Mr. *Burk*, and ſome others of the moſt active and powerful Members of the Houſe of Commons, and that they ſhould let them know from the Lords, that they have underſtood of their good Affections and Deſires to do ſomewhat in the Houſe that might tend towards

The Poſh party much diſcontented at it.

1641. wards the ſuppreſſion of this preſent Rebellion, that they approved extream well thereof: And that howſoever they could by no means remove abſolutely the Prorogation, yet that they would deſcend ſo far to their ſatisfaction as to limit it to a ſhorter time, and that at preſent they would give them leave to ſit one whole day in caſe they would immediately fall upon the work of making a clear Proteſtation againſt the Rebels: As alſo, that they ſhould have liberty, if they pleaſed, to make choice of ſome Members of their own Houſe to ſend down to treat with the Rebels about laying down of Arms: And for their Grievances, that their Lordſhips would with all readineſs receive them, and preſently tranſmit them over to his Majeſty for a ſpeedy Redreſs: All this was accordingly performed; the meeting was in the Gallery at *Cork*-Houſe; thoſe of the Houſe of Commons ſeemed at firſt to be extreamly troubled when they found there was no poſſibility of altering the preſent Prorogation: But upon a further debate, when they came to underſtand how ready the Lords were to yield to their ſatisfaction, and that the Time of the Prorogation ſhould be ſhortned, they ſeemed to reſt indifferently contented, undertook to make the Proteſtation in ſuch full and ample manner as was deſired, and that they would fall immediately upon it, and make it the work of the whole day.

Upon the 17th of *November*, the Lords and Commons met in Parliament, which was held in the uſual place of his Majeſty's Caſtle of *Dublin:* And for the better ſecurity of the Place as well as of the Perſons of thoſe that were to meet, there was a Guard of Musketiers appointed to attend during the time of their meeting, but ſuch care taken that they ſhould carry ſo free from giving any Offence, as no manner of Umbrage might be taken at their Attendance there. The Houſes were both very thin, there were only in the Houſe of Peers ſome few *Engliſh* Lords, three or four Lords of the *Pale*, and ſome two or three Biſhops. In the Houſe of Commons, they took into their conſideration upon their firſt meeting, the framing of the Proteſtation againſt the **Rebels.** But thoſe of the Popiſh Party ſpoke ſo ambiguouſly, and handled the matter ſo tenderly, as they could not be drawn to ſtile them by the name of **Rebels:** So as they ſent up unto the Lords a very meager cold Proteſtation againſt them, which being in their Houſe taken into debate, it was ſtrongly conteſted by the Proteſtant Lords that they ſhould be ſtiled **Rebels,** but that as ſtiffly oppoſed by the others. They therefore fell upon a mean betwixt both, which gave an Accommodation, ſaying, *They had* **Rebelliouſly** *and* **Trayterouſly** *raiſed Arms*; and ſo both Parties being reaſonably ſatisfied, the Proteſtation was drawn up and returned back to the Houſe of Commons in this Tenour as followeth.

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The Proteſtation and Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled.

1641.

WHereas the happy and peaceable Eſtate of this Realm hath been of late, and is ſtill interrupted by ſundry Perſons ill-affected to the Peace and Tranquility thereof, who, contrary to their Duty and Loyalty to his Majeſty, and againſt the Laws of GOD, *and the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, have Traiterouſly and Rebelliouſly raiſed Arms, have ſeized upon ſome of his Majeſty's Forts and Caſtles, and diſpoſſeſſed many of his Majeſty's faithful Subjects of their Houſes, Lands and Goods, and have ſlain many of them, and committed other cruel and inhumane Outrages, and Acts of Hoſtility within this Realm.*

The ſaid LORDS *and* COMMONS, *in Parliament aſſembled, being juſtly moved with a right Senſe of the ſaid diſloyal rebellious Proceedings and Actions of the Perſons aforeſaid, do hereby proteſt and declare, That they the ſaid* LORDS *and* COMMONS, *from their Hearts, do deteſt and abhor the ſaid abominable Actions, and that they ſhall and will to their uttermoſt Power maintain the Rights of his Majeſty's Crown, and Government of this Realm, and Peace and Safety thereof, as well againſt the Perſons aforeſaid, their Abettors, Adherents, as alſo againſt all Foreign Princes, Potentates, and other Perſons, and Attempts whatſoever; and in caſe the Perſons aforeſaid do not repent of their aforeſaid Actions, and lay down Arms, and become humble Suitors to his Majeſty for Grace and Mercy, in ſuch convenient time, and in ſuch manner and form as by his Majeſty, or the chief Governour or Governours, and Council of this Realm ſhall be ſet down: The ſaid* LORDS *and* COMMONS *do further proteſt and declare, That they will take up Arms, and will, with their Lives and Fortunes, ſuppreſs them, and their Attempts, in ſuch a way, as by the Authority of the Parliament of this Kingdom, with the Approbation of his moſt Excellent Majeſty, or of his Majeſty's Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom, ſhall be thought moſt effectual.*

Copia vera Exam. per

Phil. Percival.

Cleric. Parliament.

1641. Both Houſes of Parliament ſat two days, and the Time of the Prorogation being ſhortned unto the 11th of *January*, the Lords made choice of the Lord Viſcount *Caſtelo* to go into *England*, to carry over their Deſires to his Majeſty, concerning the means they thought fit to be uſed for the quenching this preſent Rebellion: And beſides thoſe Inſtructions formerly mentioned, he had (as I heard) from the Popiſh Lords ſome, more private, which were to negotiate the ſtaying ſuch Forces as were intended to be ſent out of *England* for that end.

The Houſes of Parliament ſent to treat with the Rebels.

Both Houſes joined together to appoint certain Lords and ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons to go down to the Northern *Rebels*, to underſtand the cauſe of their riſing in Arms: And referred them to the Lords Juſtices for their Inſtructions, which accordingly they received, together, with a Commiſſion under the Great Seal. But the Rebellion having a far deeper Root than was at that time diſcovered, this Commiſſion was of little Operation, and the intended Treaty ſoon vaniſhed. The Northern *Rebels* were then ſo puffed up with their late Victories over the poor ſurpriſed, unreſiſting *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, and had ſo deeply drenched their hands in the Blood of thoſe Innocents, as they thought to carry the whole Kingdom before them, and therefore would yield to no Treaties, but in a moſt barbarous manner tore the Order of Parliament, together with the Letter ſent unto them, and returned a moſt ſcornful anſwer, fully expreſſing thereby how far they were from any Thought of laying down Arms, or entertaining any Overtures towards an Accommodation.

Within a few days after the Adjournment of the Parliament, the Lord *Dillon* of *Caſtelo*, accompanied with the Lord *Taffe*, embarked for *England*, but by a moſt impetuous Storm were driven into *Scotland*, where they landed and went up to *London*. At the Town of *Ware*, their Papers were ſeized upon by directions from the Parliament of *England*, and their Perſons committed unto ſafe Cuſtody. Mr. *Thomas Burk* went over much about the ſame time, and certainly upon the ſame Errand: When the unhappy Breach began firſt betwixt the King and the Parliament of *England*, and that his Majeſty thought fit to retire to *York*, thoſe two Lords found means to make an Eſcape, and all three conſtantly followed the Court, where, in thoſe high Diſtempers that afterwards happened in *England*, they eaſily found means to ingratiate themſelves at Court, and had the opportunity to do thoſe good Offices for their Country-men which brought on the Ceſſation of Arms with them in due time.

Letters written to the Lord Lieutenant.

The Lords Juſtices and Council by their Letters bearing date about the 20th of *November*, gave unto the Lord Lieutenant a more certain and full account of the ſtate of the Kingdom, than they could any ways do at the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion, and thereby making known the

the very ill Condition of their preſent Affairs, they moved that the Supplies of Men, Money, Commanders, and Arms, mentioned in their former Letters, might be with all ſpeed ſent over unto them, and that his Lordſhip would preſently repair hither in his own Perſon to undertake the management of the War. About the 10th of the Month of *November*, their Lordſhips received an anſwer from the Lord Lieutenant to their former Letters of the 25th of *October*; whereby he gave them to underſtand, that he had communicated their Letters to the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, and that by Order from their Lordſhips, he had acquainted both Houſes of Parliament with them; that he had alſo ſent to his Majeſty, ſtill continuing at *Edenborough* in *Scotland*, to repreſent the Condition of their Affairs, and that he underſtood his Majeſty had received ſome Advertiſements out of the North of *Ireland* of the preſent Rebellion there: His Lordſhip alſo farther let them know, that his Majeſty had referred the whole Buſineſs of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*; that they had undertaken the charge and management of the War; that they had declared they ſhould be ſpeedily and vigorouſly aſſiſted, and had deſigned for their preſent Supplies the Sum of 50000 *l.* and had taken order for making of all further Proviſions neceſſary for the Service, as may appear by the Order of Parliament made there at that time, and tranſmitted over by the Lord Lieutenant, together with his ſaid Letters unto the Lords Juſtices, by whoſe command it was re-printed at *Dublin*, *November* 12. 1641. as here followeth, being intituled, 1641.

An Order of the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament in *England*, concerning *Ireland*.

THE LORDS *and* COMMONS *in this preſent Parliament, being advertiſed of the dangerous Conſpiracy and Rebellion in* Ireland, *by the treacherous and wicked Inſtigation of* Romiſh Prieſts *and* Jeſuits, *for the bloody Maſſacre and Deſtruction of all Proteſtants living there, and other his Majeſty's Loyal Subjects of* Engliſh *Blood, though of the* Romiſh *Religion, being ancient Inhabitants within ſeveral Counties, and Parts of that Realm, who have always, in former Rebellions, given Teſtimony of their Fidelity to this Crown: And for the utter depriving of his Royal Majeſty, and the Crown of* England, *from the Government of that Kingdom, (under pretence of ſetting up the* Popiſh Religion) *have thereupon taken into their ſerious Conſideration, how thoſe miſchievous Attempts might be moſt ſpeedily, and effectually prevented, wherein the Ho-*

1641. nour, Safety and Intereſt of this Kingdom, are moſt nearly and fully concerned. Wherefore they do hereby declare, That they do intend to ſerve his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes, for the ſuppreſſing of this wicked Rebellion, in ſuch a way, as ſhall be thought moſt effectual, by the Wiſdom and Authority of Parliament: And thereupon have ordered and provided for a preſent Supply of Money, and raiſing the number of ſix thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, to be ſent from England, being the full Proportion deſired by the Lords Juſtices, and his Majeſty's Council reſident in that Kingdom, with a Reſolution to add ſuch further Succours, as the neceſſity of thoſe Affairs ſhall require. They have alſo reſolved of providing Arms and Munition, not only for thoſe Men, but likewiſe for his Majeſty's faithful Subjects in that Kingdom, with ſtore of Victuals, and other Neceſſaries, as there ſhall be occaſion, and that theſe Proviſions may more conveniently be tranſported thither, they have appointed three ſeveral Ports of this Kingdom, that is to ſay, Briſtol, Weſt-Chetter, and one other in Cumberland, where the Magazines, and Store-Houſes ſhall be kept for the Supply of the ſeveral parts of Ireland. They have likewiſe reſolved to be humble Mediators to his moſt Excellent Majeſty, for the Encouragement of thoſe Engliſh, or Iriſh, who ſhall, upon their own Charges, raiſe any number of Horſe, or Foot, for his Service againſt the Rebels, that they ſhall be honourably rewarded with Lands of Inheritance, in Ireland, according to their Merits. And for the better inducing the Rebels to repent of their wicked Attempts, they do hereby commend it to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or in his abſence, to the Lord Deputy, or Lords Juſtices there, according to the power of the Commiſſion granted them in that behalf, to beſtow his Majeſty's gracious Pardon to all ſuch as within a convenient time, (to be declared by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Juſtices, and Council of that Kingdom) ſhall return to their due Obedience, the greateſt part whereof, they conceive have been ſeduced upon falſe Grounds, by the cunning and ſubtle Practices of ſome of the moſt malignant Rebels, Enemies to this State, and to the Reformed Religion; and likewiſe to beſtow ſuch Rewards, as ſhall be thought fit, and publiſhed by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Juſtices and Council, upon all thoſe who ſhall arreſt the Perſons, or bring in the Heads of ſuch Traytors, as ſhall be perſonally named in any Proclamation publiſhed by the State there. And they do hereby exhort, and require all his Majeſty's loving Subjects, both in this, and in that Kingdom, to remember their Duty and Conſcience to GOD, and his Religion, and the great and eminent Danger which will involve this whole Kingdom in general, and themſelves in particular, if this abominable Treaſon be not timely ſuppreſſed; and therefore with all Readineſs, Bounty, and chearfulneſs to confer their Aſſiſtance in their Perſons, or Eſtates, to this ſo important and neceſſary a Service for the common good of all.

Jo. Brown, *Cleric. Parliament.*

About

About the ſame time the Lord Lieutenant finding that he could not procure ſo ſpeedy a diſpatch of all things neceſſary for the ſervice of *Ireland*, as would enable him preſently to repair thither in his own Perſon; made the Earl of *Ormonde* Lieutenant General of the Forces there, and ſent him over a Commiſſion for the ſame. And the ſaid Earl did within few days after receive a Letter from his Majeſty out of *Scotland*, wherein he was graciouſly pleaſed to let him know it was his pleaſure to confer upon him that charge. There was then likewiſe brought over the Sum of 20000 *l.* from the Parliament; the Coin which arrived here was all in *Spaniſh* Pieces of Eight which went for 4 *d.* in a piece here more than in *England*; and this gain the Parliament was content the Merchants that undertook the Tranſportations ſhould make at that time in regard of the charge and venture they undertook to ſtand to: It arrived moſt ſeaſonably, even when all that little Money they had was quite ſpent in raiſing and paying the new Companies, and that they were wholly deſtitute of all means to draw in any Contributions towards the relieving of their preſent neceſſities. 1641.

Commiſſion granted to the Earl of *Ormond*, to be Lieutenant-General of the Forces in *Ireland*.

There continued daily to repair unto the City of *Dublin*, a great number of poor diſtreſſed *Engliſh*, who had been moſt barbarouſly ſtripped, robbed, and deſpoiled of all their goods and ſubſtance, by the Rebels. Now that it might appear what their loſſes were, what cruelties were acted, what murders committed, and who were the chief Actors in them throughout the ſeveral Provinces: The Lords Juſtices and Council thought fit to iſſue out a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, directed to certain of the Clergy to take upon Oath the ſeveral Examinations of all ſuch Perſons, that having ſuffered by this preſent Rebellion would think fit to repair unto them, as will appear by the Commiſſion it ſelf, a Copy whereof I have thought fit to inſert.

Commiſſions iſſued out for the Examination upon Oath of the loſſes of the *Britiſh*, and the cruelties exerciſed by the *Iriſh* upon them.

CHarles *by the grace of God, King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. *To our well-beloved* Henry Jones, *Dean of* Kilmore, Roger Puttock, William Huthock, Randal Adams, John Sterne, William Aldrich, Henry Brereton, *and* John Watſon, *Clerks, Greeting; Whereas divers wicked and diſloyal People, have lately riſen in Arms in ſeveral parts of this Kingdom, and have robbed and ſpoiled many of our good Subjects,* Britiſh *and Proteſtants, who have been ſeparated from their ſeveral habitations, and ſcattered in moſt lamentable manner: And for as much as it is needful to take due Examination concerning the ſame; Know ye that we repoſing ſpecial truſt and confidence in your care, diligence, and provident circumſpection, have nominated and appointed you to be our Commiſſioners, and do hereby give unto you, or any two or more of you, full power and authority, from time to time, to call before you and examine upon Oath on the Holy Evangeliſts (which hereby*

we

1641. *we authorize you or any two or more of you to adminiſter) as well all ſuch Perſons as have been robbed and deſpoiled, as all the witneſſes that can give teſtimony therein, what robberies and ſpoils have been committed on them ſince the 22d of* October *laſt, or ſhall hereafter be committed on them, or any of them: What the particulars were or are, whereof they were or ſhall be ſo robbed or ſpoiled, to what value, by whom, what their names are, or where they now or laſt dwelt that committed thoſe robberies, or what day or night the ſaid robberise or ſpoils committed, or to be committed, were done: What traiterous or diſloyal Words, Speeches, or Actions were then or at any other time uttered or committed thoſe robbers or any of them, and how often, and all other circumſtances concerning the ſaid particulars and every of them: And you our ſaid Commiſſioners are to reduce to writing all the Examinations which you, or any two or more of you, ſhall take as aforeſaid; and the ſame to return to our Juſtices and Council of this our Realm of* Ireland, *under the hands and ſeals of any two or more of you as aforeſaid. Witneſs our right truſty and well beloved Counſellours, Sir* William Parſons, *Knight and Baronet, and Sir* John Borlace, *Knight, our Juſtices of our ſaid Realm of* Ireland: Dublin *23d of* December, *in the ſeventeenth Year of our Reign.*

Carleton.

The Commiſſioners above nominated, did very ſeriouſly addreſs themſelves to this work, employing their pains therein with great diligence and faithfulneſs; and have ſo well performed the charge impoſed upon them as that by ſeveral Examinations, many principal Gentlemen of good Eſtates were diſcovered to be the chief Actors in the Depredations of the *Britiſh*, and to have committed many moſt horrid Murders and other notorious Cruelties, which through their induſtry will now remain upon Record, but had otherways been concealed from Poſterity, and wrapt up in Oblivion. The like Commiſſions were in a ſhort time after ſent into *Munſter* and *Ulſter*: In the Province of *Munſter*, the Commiſſioners took great care in the Execution of it, many Examinations of high Concernment were taken by virtue thereof, though they remain as yet concealed, and not returned up according as is required by the ſaid Commiſſions.

A weekly Faſt appointed.

Towards the latter end of *November*, the Lords Juſtices and Council conſidering the miſerable deſolations brought upon the whole Kingdom, and the further calamities threatned by War and Famine, did by a Proclamation ſet forth in Print, give ſtrict charge and command; That upon every Friday a publick and religious Faſt ſhould be devoutly and piouſly obſerved, in and thorough the whole City and Suburbs of *Dublin*, by all his Majeſty's People therein, and that Divine Service and Sermons be

be celebrated and heard upon the ſaid day weekly, in every Cathedral, and other Church and Chappel in the ſaid City and Suburbs thereof: And this to be performed as is expreſſed in the ſaid Proclamation, to the end that the ſevere wrath and indignation of Almighty God, may be averted from this Kingdom, his divine Aid and Aſſiſtance implored, and that ſome relief in theſe calamitous times, may the better be afforded, to ſuch miſerable Perſons as theſe Traytors, by their Rapine and Cruelty, have deprived of their Fortunes, and ſent naked and almoſt famiſhed up to this City. 1641.

The Lords Juſtices and Council being advertiſed of the near approach of the Rebels to *Tredagh*, prepared to ſend down ſupplies both of Men and Munition, for the re-inforcement of that Garriſon: There were already deſigned ſix hundred Foot and a Troop of Horſe for that Service, and they were almoſt in a readineſs to march, when an expreſs from Sir *Henry Tichbourn* came up to the Earl of *Ormonde*, to let him know the Rebels had that day, being the 21ſt of *November*, appeared within ſight of the Town. He conceived they would preſently have ſet down before it, but they advanced no further that day, only while their Forces made a ſtand there, they ſent down a Party of thirteen hundred Foot to *Millifond*, the Lord *Moore*'s Houſe, which their deſign was ſuddenly to ſurpriſe; but contrary to their expectation, they found there twenty four Musketiers and fifteen Horſemen, who very ſtoutly defended the Houſe as long as their powder laſted. The Horſemen when they ſaw themſelves beſet ſo as they could be no further ſerviceable to the place, opened the gate, iſſued out and made their paſſage thorough the midſt of the Rebels, and ſo, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they made, eſcaped ſafe to *Tredagh*: The Foot having refuſed to accept of the quarter at the firſt offered, reſolved to make good the place to the laſt Man; they endured ſeveral aſſaults, ſlew a hundred and forty of the Rebels, before their Powder failed them: And at laſt they gave up the place upon promiſe of quarter, which was not kept, for ſome of them were killed in cold Blood, all were ſtripped, and two old decrepid Men ſlain, the Houſe ranſacked, and all the goods carried away.

The approach of the Rebels to *Tredagh*.

Upon the receit of Sir *Henry Tichbourn*'s Letter, the Lords preſently took order for the marching away of the ſix hundred Men, together with a Troop of Horſe towards *Tredagh*: They left not the Town till the 27th of *November*, and ſuch was the negligence of the Captains and diſorders of the Soldiers, as notwithſtanding they had been three days in readineſs to march, they went no further that night than *Swoords*, a Village ſix miles diſtant from *Dublin*: The command of the Foot was committed to Serjeant Major *Roper*, and of the Horſe to Sir *Patrick Weames*, who was appointed with fifty of the Earl of *Ormonde*'s Troop to march with thoſe ſix Companies to *Tredagh*. The very day of their departure from

Supplies both of Horſe and Foot ſent for the relief of *Tredagh*.

1641. from *Dublin*, there was an Advertiſement brought unto the Lords, that ſome Forces of the Rebels were drawn on this ſide the River of the *Boyne*, and attended with deſign to intercept their paſſage: Whereupon the Earl of *Ormonde* by direction from the Lords, diſpatched an expreſs to give them now upon their march notice thereof, and after to paſs on to Sir *Henry Tichbourn*, to let him know as much; and that the Recruits deſigned for the re-inforcement of his Garriſon being now upon their march, it highly imported him to take ſpecial care for the ſecuring of their paſſage. And next day his Lordſhip received an anſwer from him of that Letter, with aſſurance that he would not fail to march out with competent Forces to meet them upon the way, which he did that very day accordingly perform, but they marching no further than *Balrudry*, and ſo lying that night eight miles ſhort of *Tredagh*, he miſſed of them, and ſo went not out (by what accident or upon what reaſon I know not) the day following till the news of the defeat met him at the very gate of the Town where he ſtood with his Men in a readineſs to march towards them: The Men being altogether untrained and unaccuſtomed to Travel, and failing of Proviſion by the way, which for their Money they could not by any means procure from the Country People as they marched along, were very much diſcontented, and being ſomewhat tired with their Journey, went on next day, but in much diſorder, ſo careleſs, and ſo little apprehenſive of any danger, as ſome had Arms, but no Munition about them; others for their own eaſe committed the carriage of both to the Carts. As they paſſed through *Gormanſtone*, the Major went in to give a Viſit to the Lord of *Gormanſtone*, who told him that there were ſome Numbers of men lay in the way with an intent to interrupt their Paſſage. And this his Lordſhip knew very well, for the very night before (as Mr. *Creighton* affirms in his examination) one of his grooms went to *Slaine* where the Rebels were then lodged, and called them out of their Beds to be in a readineſs to come and encounter the *Engliſh* Forces now upon their march. The Major had likewiſe other Advertiſements to the ſame purpoſe, which he neglected, not ſo much as acquainting his Captains therewith, as ſome of them afterwards affirmed; He only cauſed three Scouts out of the Troop to be ſent abroad to make diſcovery whether the paſſage were clear; two of them returned back a little before he came to the Bridge of *Julian*'s Town, aſſuring him all was clear; the other went on to a Houſe within one quarter of a mile of the place where the Rebels lay, and while he attended there for his breakfaſt, a Boy belonging to the Houſe, took his Horſe, and riding to the Rebels gave them notice of the near approach of our Forces: The Horſe paſſed the Bridge, and the Foot following, turned up into a Field on the left-hand of the Lane, where, by reaſon of a great miſt that ſuddenly fell, they diſcovered not the

The defeat of the Forces ſent for the relief of *Tredagh*.

the Rebels, till they were almoſt within Musket-ſhot of them. The Major drew his Men preſently into Battalia, but the Horſe (as ſome of the Foot that eſcaped affirm) wheeled about without charging any part of the Rebels Forces, who now furiouſly approached with a great Shout; and a Lieutenant giving out the unhappy word of Countermarch, all the Men poſſeſſed as it were with a pannick Fear, began ſomewhat confuſedly to march back, but were ſo much amazed with a ſecond Shout given by the Rebels (who ſeeing them in diſorder followed cloſe on) as notwithſtanding they had gotten into a ground of great advantage, they could not be perſwaded to ſtand a Charge, but betook themſelves to their heels, and ſo the Rebels fell ſharply on, as their manner is upon the Execution. 1641.

Sir *Patrick Weames*, without the loſs of one Horſe, paſſed on ſafely unto *Tredagh*: The Major with two of the Captains more, and about a hundred of their Men, made an Eſcape thither likewiſe: The other three Captains, with all the reſt of the Soldiers that were *Engliſh*, were there cut off; they ſpared very few or none that fell into their hands, but ſuch as were *Iriſh*, whoſe lives they preſerved: The Arms of the whole ſix hundred they poſſeſſed themſelves of, as likewiſe of all their Munition and Carriages: And ſo highly were the Rebels encouraged with this Defeat given to his Majeſty's Forces, as the whole *Pale* began preſently to waver; they thought the Kingdom their own, and that the *Engliſh* would in all parts fall before them, as thoſe poor ill conducted Sheep had unhappily done. And this is a true Relation (as near as I could collect it from the Mouths of thoſe that were preſent) of that famous Victory ſo much boaſted of by the *Iriſh*, whereunto the Inexperience of the *Engliſh* Commanders, and the Diſorders of the common Soldiers, who were then but newly taken up, and had never ſeen any Service, contributed far more than any Skill or Courage ſhewed by the Rebels, which they had only opportunity at that time to expreſs by a loud Shout. Beſides, they were treble their number, and had for their Leaders, *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Birne*, and *Philip O-Rely*; the two laſt Perſons, who had been trained in the Wars abroad under the *Spaniſh* Diſcipline, and were of greateſt Experience among them: They brought down a great part of thoſe Forces out of the Counties of *Cavan* and *Monaghan*; and as ſoon as they came within the River of *Boyne*, great numbers of the ordinary Churles of the *Pale* adjoyned themſelves unto their Men, and ſo made up a Body ſufficient to perform that Service.

The News of this unhappy Defeat was brought the very ſame day, being Monday the 29th of *November* at Evening, to the Lords Juſtices as they ſate in Council: It troubled them very much, and as it was a matter of great rejoycing among the Popiſh Inhabitants of the City, ſo it

1641. bred a general Sorrow and Conſternation among the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants: It happened in a very ill Seaſon, the late made Colonels were but then in raiſing of their Men: And ſuch Companies as were compleated, were by the Lords the ſame day of the marching of the ſix hundred Men to *Tredagh*, commanded out under Sir *Charles Coot*, into the County of *Wicklow*, for the repreſſing of the Inſolencies of the *Birns* and the *Tools* towards the poor *Engliſh*, whom they began to fall upon moſt furiouſly, ſtripping, murdering, and driving them all out of that Territory as ſoon as they had taken in the King's Fort, in that County called *Carew's* Fort, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the chief Places of ſtrength belonging to the *Engliſh* Gentlemen there: He marched to the Town of *Wicklow*, where he cauſed ſome few Men and one Woman to be executed, they being found upon Examination guilty of the late Spoils committed moſt barbarouſly upon the *Engliſh* there; and the very Clothes of an *Engliſh* Woman that was ſtripped, being found upon the Back of that *Iriſh* Woman that was there hanged. In his return, *Luke Toole*, with near a thouſand *Iriſh* under his command, encountred him, but he quickly made them fly and take to the next Bogg, with the loſs of ſome few of their Men: And ſo he returned with all poſſible ſpeed to *Dublin*, the Lords having ſent him notice of the late Defeat given to the Forces ſent to *Tredagh*: As ſoon as he arrived, he applyed himſelf very carefully to the ſecuring of the Town, which now began to be more deſperately threatned than ever, by the near approaches of the Rebels: And ſo great were the diſorders then in the City, ſo inconſiderable the Forces raiſed, the *Engliſh* Inhabitants ſo ſtrangely diſmayed, the Papiſts ſo highly raiſed in Spirit and Courage, as had the Commanders of the Rebels drawn thoſe Forces together as they had in readineſs on both ſides the River of *Boyne* for the Siege of *Tredagh*, and ſo marching up to *Dublin*, had taken the advantage of the preſent Diſtractions, and forward Affections which they would have undoubtedly found there to aſſiſt them, they had in all humane probability made themſelves Maſters of the City, and might ſo ſtraitly have begirt the Caſtle, as would within a very ſhort time have endangered the ſurrender of it; but it pleaſed GOD to infatuate their Counſels: The ſtrong Opinion they had that they ſhould preſently carry *Tredagh*, and ſo poſſeſs themſelves of all the Arms and Munition they had in that Town, cauſed them to fix their Reſolutions there, and to ſet up their reſt upon the obtaining that place. In this, as in many other wonderful Acts of Divine Providence which I then obſerved with great admiration, it pleaſed GOD to appear even miraculouſly in the preſervation of the City and Caſtle of *Dublin*, with the poor remainders of *Engliſh* and Proteſtants, who had there taken ſanctuary.

Sir *Charles Coot's* Expedition into the County of *Wicklow*.

And

1641.

The defection of the Lords and chief Gentlemen within the *Engliſh* Pale.

And now the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, thought it high time to diſcover themſelves and their affections to the Cauſe: They certainly had not only long entertained a defection in their Thoughts, but were, as the ſeveral forementioned Examinations teſtify, the firſt Contrivers and Bringers in of the Northern Rebels into this execrable Plot; they had now likewiſe drawn them into the *Pale*, and therefore they could not now hope much longer to walk under a Maſk, and entertain the State with further profeſſions of their Loyalty: They had gotten a competent proportion of Arms and Munition out of his Majeſty's Store into their own poſſeſſion: They ſaw now the Northern Rebels advanced within the River of *Boyne*, with very conſiderable Forces to ſtrengthen their Party, and by the late Encounter and ſucceſsful Victory they had therein, they pleaſed their fancies with confident Conceits of certain prevailing, if they would now declare themſelves by a publick conjunction in the common Cauſe, and raiſing ſuch numbers of Men and quantities of Proviſion, as the plentiful Circuit of the *Pale* did afford, would proſecute the War ſo happily begun, and ſo ſucceſsfully managed hitherto.

The manner of the conjunction of the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Engliſh* Pale with the Northern Rebels, expreſſed in the Examination of *Edward Dowdall*, Eſq;

Theſe and ſeveral other Conſiderations working very powerfully among the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, they did within very few days after the late Defeat ſolemnly proceed on to the actual Conſummation of their long meditated Revolt. For the manner, place, time, and all other circumſtances, I ſhall refer the Reader to this enſuing Relation, given in upon Oath, *March* 1641. before Sir *Robert Meredith*, Knight, Chancellour of the Exchequer, in the Examination of *Edward Dowdall*, Eſquire, a Gentleman of the *Pale*, one very well eſteemed among them, one that was preſent at all their Meetings, and deeply engaged in all their Counſels and Actions.

He depoſeth, That ſome four or five days after the Defeat of the *Engliſh* Soldiers at the Bridge of *Gellianſtown*, there iſſued a Warrant from the Lord of *Gormanſtone*, to the Sheriff of the County, for a general meeting of all the County at *Dulick*: But the place of meeting was afterwards changed to the Hill of *Crofty*, where all the Lords and Gentry of the Country met, *viz.* the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſtone*, the Lord of *Slaine*, the Lord of *Lowth*, the Lord of *Dunſany*, the Lord of *Trimbleſtone*, the Lord *Netterville*: And of the Gentry, Sir *Patrick Barnwall*, Sir *Chriſtopher Bellow*, *Patrick Barnwall* of *Kilbrew*, *Nicholas Darcy* of *Platin*, *James Bath* of *Acharn*, *Garret Ailmer* the Lawyer, *Gifake* of *Gormanſtone*, *William Malone* of *Leſmullin*, *Sedgrave* of *Kileglan*, *Linch* of the *Knos*, *Lynam* of *Adamſtown*, *Laurence Dowdal* of *Athlumney*, *Nicholas Dowdal* of *Brownſtown*, this Examinate's Brother, and him, this Examinate, with a multitude of others, to the number of a thouſand Perſons at the leaſt, whoſe names he, this Examinate, cannot

1641. for the preſent call to mind. And after about two or three hours ſpent upon the ſaid Hill of *Crofty*, by the Lords and Gentry aforeſaid: There came towards them, Colonel *Mohowne*, *Philip O Rely*, *Hugh Boy-Rely*, *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Birne*, and Captain *Fox*, attended on with a Guard of Musketiers: And this Examinate ſaith, That as ſoon as the Parties drew near unto the ſaid Hill, the Lords and Gentry of the *Pale* rode towards them, and the Lord of *Gormanſtone*, being one of the firſt, ſpake unto them, and demanded of them, Why, and for what reaſon, they came armed into the *Pale*? Unto which *Roger Moore* made preſent anſwer, That the ground of their coming thither, and taking up Arms, was for the Freedom and Liberty of their Conſciences, the Maintenance of his Majeſty's Prerogative, in which they underſtood he was abridged, and the making the Subjects in this Kingdom as free as thoſe in *England* were; whereupon the ſaid Lord of *Gormanſtone* deſired to underſtand from them truly and faithfully, whether thoſe were not Pretences, and not the true grounds indeed of their ſo doing; and likewiſe whether they had not ſome other private Ends of their own; which being by all denied, upon profeſſion of their ſincerity, his Lordſhip, the Lord of *Gormanſtone* then told them: Seeing theſe be your true Ends, we will likewiſe join with you therein; unto which courſe all agreed. And thereupon it was publickly and generally declared, that whoſoever ſhould deny to join with them, or refuſe to aſſiſt them therein, they would account him as an Enemy, and to the utmoſt of their power labour his deſtruction. And this Examinate ſaith, That after the agreement ſo made, as aforeſaid, there iſſued another Warrant to the Sheriff of the County of *Meath*, to ſummon all the Lords and Gentry of the County of *Meath*, to be at the Hill of *Taragh*, about a Week after; and accordingly there met at the ſame place the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord of *Gormanſtone*, and the reſt of the Lords and Gentlemen afore-named, together with Sir *Thomas Nugent*, and *Nicholas Plunket* the Lawyer, *Birford* the Lawyer, and a multitude of others; and the work of that day was firſt to make anſwer to a Summons made by the State for calling of the Lords unto *Dublin*; which Anſwer was brought ready drawn by the Lord of *Gormanſtone*, and preſented by his Lordſhip, and being peruſed by the ſaid Council at Law, was ſigned by the Lords.

These were ſome of the chief Leaders among the Northern Rebels.

In this manner was this great Tranſaction moſt ſolemnly conſummated betwixt *Leinſter*, and *Ulſter*; *Valence* and *Brabant*, as Sir *Phelim O Neale* ſtiles them in his *Characteriſtical* Letter before mentioned, ſent to *Owen Roe O Neale* in *Flanders*, were now publickly united together in that great Aſſembly. The Lord Viſcount *Gormanſtone*, on the one ſide, and *Roger Moore* on the other, had both been long tampering about the drawing of this moſt important work to the form it now receiv'd, they had at length

length brought it unto perfection, they two had the glory of it, and appeared the great publick Inſtruments of this powerful Union. 1641.

The endeavours of thoſe of the *Pale* to ſtrengthen their party againſt the power of the State.

The Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, having thus far declared themſelves, became ſo high and preſuming, as they little valued what was done or commanded by the State at *Dublin:* They now wholly applyed their endeavours to make ſuch preparatives towards the War, as might ſtrengthen their Party, which as it now ſtood in conjunction with the Northern Rebels they beheld as invincible, and their power not to be reſiſted by the inconſiderable Forces drawn together by the Lords Juſtices and Council at *Dublin:* Several Gentlemen who in the ſeveral Counties of the *Pale* were made Captains, and had received Arms from the State for their Companies, departed from their Obedience, and addreſſed themſelves and their Companies wholly to the ſervice of the Rebels. *Nicholas White*, Eſq; Son and Heir to Sir *Nicholas White* of *Leſlip*, was the firſt that gave the Example about the ſecond of *December:* But he carried the matter ſo handſomely, as his Company ran away to the Rebels, as he pretended, without his conſent, or even his knowledge, any longer time before their departure, than to give him opportunity to come and acquaint the State therewith, and his own diſability to hinder the ſame: But before it was poſſible to uſe any means of prevention, the Men were all gone with their Arms and Munition to the Rebels: Many of the other Captains deſired no ſuch fine cover for their intentions, but delivered themſelves and their Arms up to be diſpoſed as they ſhould direct without any further ſcruple or complement to the State: Whereupon the Lords finding how notoriouſly they were abuſed by the very great confidence repoſed in ſuch Gentlemen of the *Pale*, as being made Captains, had received Arms from them, and perceiving what courſe they began now to ſteer, and how they were reſolved to imploy their own Arms againſt them, they took ſuch order, and with ſuch celerity and diligence made ſtay of ſeveral of thoſe Arms, which were delivered out for the uſe of the *Pale*, as of the one thouſand ſeven hundred Arms diſtributed among the ſeveral Counties thereof, they recovered again into their hands nine hundred and fifty.

The reaſons why the State ſummon'd the Grand Council of all the Lords of the *Pale*, and others then in the City of *Dublin*.

And now by reaſon the Northern Rebels had ſettled their Camp within the River of *Boyne*, and ſo lay betwixt *Tredagh* and the City of *Dublin*, all intercourſe in the *Pale* was interrupted, the paſſages ſtopt up, and the Lords Juſtices and Council underſtood very little or nothing of any proceedings held there. They therefore finding their dangers daily to encreaſe through the near approach of the Rebels unto the City of *Dublin*, the continual affronts, and new ſcorns the State daily received from them, their own want of Strength to repreſs their bold attempts, or to preſerve the poor *Engliſh* round about them out of their bloody Hands,

1641. Hands, reſolved now in theſe their high extremities, to try the effects of thoſe large proteſtations and great profeſſions of loyalty the Lords of the *Pale* had lately made unto them, and to give them a fair opportunity of rendring a moſt acceptable ſervice to his Majeſty and the State here. For this end therefore they determined to call a grand Council of all the Lords which reſided within any convenient diſtance of the City of *Dublin*: clearly and freely to repreſent unto them the ill condition of their affairs, and how highly it imported them in reſpect of their own particular ſafety, as well as for the preſervation of the whole Kingdom, not only to contribute their beſt advice and counſel, but even all the Forces they could any ways raiſe towards the beating of the Northern Rebels out of the *Pale*. Several Letters of Summons were accordingly writ and ſent away to the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſtone*, and the reſt of the Lords of the *Pale*; the tenour of them here enſueth.

A Copy of the Letter written by the Lords Juſtices & Council to the Lords of the *Pale*.

AFter our very hearty commendations to your Lordſhip; for as much as we have preſent occaſion to confer with you, concerning the preſent eſtate of the Kingdom, and the ſafety thereof in theſe times of danger: We pray and require your Lordſhip to be with us here on the eighth day of this Month, at which time others of the Peers are alſo to be here: And this being to no other end, we bid your Lordſhip very heartily farewel. From his Majeſty's Caſtle of *Dublin* the third of *December* 1641.

Your very loving Friends,

William Parſon,
John Borlacy,
Ormond Offory,
Ant. Medenſis,
Robert Dillon,
Adam Loftus,
George Shirley,
John Temple,
Rob. Meredith.

To our very good Lord

George Earl of *Kildare.*

The

1641

The like Letters *eodem die*, to theſe ſeveral Perſons following:

Earl of *Ormonde.*	Lord *Trimbleſton.*
Earl of *Antrim.*	Lord *Dunſany.*
Earl of *Fingale.*	Lord *Slaine.*
Viſ. *Gormanſtone.*	Lord of *Hoath.*
Viſ. *Netterville.*	Lord *Lowth.*
Viſ. *Fitzwilliam.*	Lord *Lambert.*

Theſe Letters were preſently ſent away: But the Lords of the *Pale* being otherways engaged, and having before, or much about the time they came unto their hands (though the Lords knew very little, and that very uncertainly of it) made that publick combination with the *Ulſter* Rebels before mentioned, durſt no more adventure their perſons within the City of *Dublin:* But after their meeting at the Hill of *Crofty*, appointed another meeting at the Hill of *Tarah*, and from thence they ſent an Anſwer unto the Lords, which as Mr. *Dowdall* teſtifies, was brought thither by the Lord of *Gormanſtone* ready drawn up, and there only ſigned and ſo ſent away. The Copy of the Letter here followeth:

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips.

The Anſwer of the Lords of the *Pale* to the Lords Juſtices.

WE have received your Letters of the third of this inſtant, intimating that you had preſent occaſions to confer with us, concerning the preſent State of the Kingdom, and the ſafety thereof in theſe times of danger, and requiring us to be with you there on the eighth day of this Inſtant; We give your Lordſhips to underſtand, that we have heretofore preſented our ſelves before your Lordſhips, and freely offered our advice and furtherance towards the particulars aforeſaid, which was by you neglected, which gave us cauſe to conceive that our Loyalty was ſuſpected by you. We give your Lordſhips further to underſtand, that we have received certain advertiſement, that Sir Charles Coot, *Knight, at the Council Board, hath uttered ſome ſpeeches tending to a purpoſe and reſolution, to execute upon thoſe of our Religion a general Maſſacre, by which we are all deterred to wait on your Lordſhips, not having any ſecurity for our ſafety from theſe threatned evils, or the ſafety of our lives; but do rather think it fit to ſtand upon our beſt Guard until we hear from your Lordſhips*

1641. *ſhips how we ſhall be ſecured from theſe perils. Nevertheleſs, we all proteſt that we are and will continue both faithful adviſers, and reſolute furtherers of his Majeſty's ſervice concerning the preſent State of the Kingdom, and the ſafety thereof, to our beſt abilities: and ſo with the ſaid tender of our humble ſervice, we remain,*

Your Lordſhips humble Servants,

To the Right Honourable our very good the Lords Juſtices and Council of *Ireland*.

Fingale, Gormanſtone, Slane, Dunſany, Netterville, Oliver, Lowth, Trimbleſtone.

Dublin, Decemb. 7. Received 11. 1641.

A Proclamation iſſued out by the Lords Juſtices and Council for the ſatisfaction of the Lords of the *Pale*.

In anſwer to this Letter, the Lords Juſtices and Council, out of their unfeigned deſires to give unto thoſe Lords all due ſatisfaction, and to remove thoſe jealouſies and great miſunderſtandings now grown up between them, thought fit by way of Proclamation to publiſh and declare to them and all others of His Majeſty's good Subjects of the *Romiſh* Religion, That they never heard Sir *Charles Coot*, or any other utter at the Board or elſewhere, any ſuch ſpeeches tending to a purpoſe or reſolution to execute upon thoſe of their profeſſion, or upon any other, a general Maſſacre or any Maſſacre at all; and that they never intended ſo to diſhonour his Majeſty and this State, or wound their own Conſciences, as to entertain the leaſt thought of acting ſo odious, impious, and deteſtable a thing upon any perſons whatſoever; and that if any proof can be made of any ſuch Words ſpoken by any perſon whatſoever, he ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed. And therefore that they did pray and require the ſaid Noblemen to attend them at the Board, on the ſeventeenth day of *December*, that they might confer with them: And for the ſecurity of their repair unto them, they did thereby give to all and every of thoſe Noblemen, the word and aſſurance of the State, that they might then ſecurely and ſafely come unto them without danger of any trouble or ſtay whatſoever, from them who neither had nor have any intention to wrong or hurt them.

But now it began to appear unto the Lords Juſtices and Council, how far they were engaged with the Northern *Rebels*. By the Examinations taken of ſome *Engliſh*, who made their eſcape out of thoſe parts; the news of their ſolemn contract and Aſſociation before mentioned, was brought up to *Dublin*: And they then well enough diſcerned the main obſtruction in their

their coming, the cauſe of their tergiverſations, and what good reaſon they had to find out excuſes to *palliate* their *diſloyalty*. They then expected no other fruits of their Proclamation than what it produced: Neither indeed had it any other effect and operation among them, than that they did with great boldneſs and confidence, by way of Anſwer thereunto, write back a Letter to the Lords Juſtices, wherein they pretend themſelves ſo juſtly affrighted with Sir *Charles Coot*'s ſeverity and deportment, as that they dare not adventure themſelves within the confines of his Government: They heavily impoſe upon him the inhumane acts perpetrated as they term them in the County of *Wicklow*, the Maſſacre of *Santry*, and the burning of Mr. *King*'s houſe and his whole ſubſtance at *Chantarfe*; and with a little kind of cunning, they ſeem to pretend a breach of the publick faith, but would transfer the blame from the Lords Juſtices to Sir *Charles Coot*; and thereupon deſire no ſiniſter conſtruction may be made of their ſtay, and that they may have ſome Commiſſioners appointed to confer with them; and ſo conclude with ſome profeſſions of their Loyalty and Readineſs to give their advices for the advancement of his Majeſty's ſervice, and the common peace of the Kingdom. 1641.

Several pretences of the Lords of the Pale to colour their refuſal to repair to the Lords Juſtices and Council.

This was an Anſwer, ſuch as might juſtly be expected to come from perſons ſo deeply now involved in the guilt of ſo high a Rebellion. It is no wonder that they were thus put to their ſhifts, and enforced to take up ſuch fond excuſes, and imaginary pretences for their diſloyalty: For they could not in their own conſciences, but be moſt ſenſible of the very great indulgence uſed by the Lords towards them: They had not failed in ſeveral particulars to manifeſt the great confidence they had in their good affections: They had refrained from giving them any manner of provocation or jealouſie. They had foreborn the doing ſome acts of hoſtility for a time upon ſome Rebels among them, becauſe they would not give them any the leaſt cauſe of compliant. And however it appeared by the Examination of *Macmahon* and ſeveral others, that they were privy to the firſt Plot; yet the Lords proceeded with ſo much caution and tenderneſs towards them, hoping that now the Conſpirators had failed in the main part of their deſign, which was the ſurpriſal of the Caſtle of *Dublin*, that they might yet reclaim them thereby, and draw them into a juſt concurrence with them, for the preſervation of the Kingdom out of the Hands of thoſe bloody Northern Rebels, who in the Beginning were the only appearers in the cauſe: But all was to no purpoſe, they were too deeply engaged to recede; therefore they ran now violently on, and drew along all the chief Gentlemen likewiſe of the *Pale* with them.

The great indulgence uſed by the Lords Juſtices and Council towards the Lords of the Pale.

1641. And now it shall be declared, how the chief Gentlemen of the *Pale* began and proceeded on to act their parts: About the beginning of *December*, presently after the late defeat given to the *English* Soldiers in their march to *Tredagh*, *Luke Nettervile* second Son to the Lord Viscount *Nettervile*, caused a Proclamation to be made in the Market place of *Lusk*, requiring all the chief Gentlemen and other Inhabitants thereabouts, not to fail upon pain of death, presently to repair unto *Swoords*, a Town within six miles of the City of *Dublin*. And within few days after, did meet there the said *Luke Nettervile*, *Geo. Blackney*, Esq; *Geo. King*, *Joh. Talbot*, *Rich. Golding*, *Tho. Russel*, *Christopher Russel*, *Patrick Caddel*, *Will. Travers*, *Rich. Barnwall*, *Lawrence Bealing*, *Holywood* of *Artaine*, and several other Gentlemen, who began to gather great numbers of Men about them; and putting such Arms into their hands as they had in readiness, at the present made their provisions to entertain a settled Camp within that place. The Lords understanding of this unlawful tumultuous Assembly, and deeply apprehending the mischievous consequences that might ensue thereupon, sent this Warrant following in a fair manner, requiring thereby their present repair unto them.

Luke Nettervile and others of the chief Gentlemen of the Pale, gather forces and quarter themwithin 6 miles of the City of *Dublin*.

The Gentlemen of the Pale required by the Lords Justices and Council to repair to *Dublin*.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

William Parsons. John Borlace.

WHereas we have received Information, that Luke Nettervile, *Esq;* Blackney *of* Rickenhore, *Esq; and* George King *of* Glantarfe, *Gentleman; and other Gentlemen of the County of* Dublin, *with great numbers of men are assembled together in a body at* Swoords *and thereabouts, within six miles of this City, for what intent we know not, but apparently to the terrour of his Majesty's good Subjects; and although, considering the unseasonableness of this time chosen for such an Act without our privity (whatsoever their pretence is) a construction might be made thereof to their disadvantage; yet we being willing to make an indulgent interpretation of their actions, in regard of the good opinion we have of the Loyalty of those Gentlemen who (it seems) are principals amongst them in that Assembly, and conceiving there may be some mistaking in that enterprise, we have chosen the rather hereby to charge the said* Luke Nettervile, Blackney, King, *and all the persons there assembled with them, upon their duties of Allegiance to his Majesty, immediately upon sight hereof*

hereof to ſeparate, and not to unite any more in that manner without direction from us: And that the ſaid Nettervile, Blackney, King, *and ſix others of the principal perſons of thoſe who are ſo aſſembled at* Swoords *or thereabouts as aforeſaid, do appear before us to morrow morning at ten of the Clock, to ſhew the cauſe of their aſſembling in that manner, whereof they may not fail at their extream perils.* 1641.

Given at his Majeſty's Caſtle of *Dublin*, 9 *December*, 1641.

Ormond Oſſory,
Robert Dillon,
Cha. Lambart,
John Temple,
Charles Coot.

But they were ſo far from rendring obedience to the commands they received from the Board, as they kept the meſſenger in reſtraint a day and a night, threatning to hang him, and after returned a ſcornful peremptory Anſwer, ſignifying unto their Lordſhips, *That they were conſtraind to meet there together, for the ſafety of their lives; that they were put in ſo great a terrour by the riſing out of ſome horſe Troops and foot Companies at* Dublin, *who killed four Catholicks for no other reaſon, than that they bore the name of that Religion, as they durſt not,* as they pretended, *ſtay in their Houſes, and therefore reſolved to continue together, till they were aſſured by their Lordſhips of the ſafety of their lives before they run the Hazard thereof, by manifeſting their obedience due unto their Lordſhips.* Theſe were the very words and expreſſions uſed by thoſe Gentlemen in their Anſwer: And accordingly they ſtill continued together, encreaſing their number of men and threatning to come down and encamp themſelves at *Clantarfe*, a little Village ſtanding upon the very harbour of *Dublin*; where ſome of their followers had already at a low water ſeized upon a Bark lying there, and carried away all the Commodities they found in her; a great part whereof they had put into the then dwelling houſe of the ſaid *King*, to whom that Village did belong. This was an act of ſo high a ſtrain, and ſo eminently tending to the preſent ruin of the City, as it required a ſudden Remedy; Delays were dangerous in a matter of ſuch perilous conſequence; and the Lords Juſtices and Council, plainly perceived that if the Rebels were ſuffered to come down and lodge there, that they might without much difficulty make themſelves Maſters of thoſe few Barks then in the Harbour (the State having at that time no Ships of force to guard them) and ſo put themſelves in a fair way, if

The Anſwer made by the Pale to the Lord's Warrant.

1641. they could bring the *Wexford* Ships about to join with them, to block up the Harbour, and ſtop the coming in to their relief all ſuch ſuccours as ſhould be deſigned in *England* to land at that Port. Whereupon the Lords finding that the ſaid *King* continued ſtill with *Luke Netterville* and thoſe other Gentlemen at *Swords*, that they carried themſelves with ſuch high contumacy, as that diſdaining to render any obedience to their Warrant, they neither made their departure from that place, disbanded their men, nor ſo much as pretended to repair to them according to their commands at the time prefixed therein: It was thought high time to take ſome other courſe with them; and therefore about four days after, the day firſt ſet down by the Lords for their appearing before them, and the very next day after another Proclamation publiſhed for their immediate ſeparation, the Lords Juſtices and Council made this enſuing Order, directed to the Earl of *Ormonde*, Lieutenant General of his Majeſty's forces in *Ireland*.

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

William Parſons, John Borlace.

A warrant from the Lords Juſtices and Council for the ſuppreſſing of the Rebels of the *Pale*.

FOraſmuch as divers of the Inhabitants of Clantarfe, Raheny, *and* Kilbarrock, *have declared themſelves Rebels, and having robbed and ſpoiled ſome of his Majeſty's good Subjects, are now aſſembled thereabouts in Arms in great numbers, muſtering and training of their Rebellious Multitudes, to the terrour and danger of his Majeſty's good Subjects, as well at Land as at Sea; which their boldneſs is acted in ſuch manner as to put Scorns and Affronts upon this State and Government, they acting ſuch depredations even before our faces, and in our own view as it were in deſpight of us: It is therefore ordered, that our very good Lord the Earl of* Ormonde *and* Oſſory, *Lieutenant General of the Army, do forthwith ſend out a party of Soldiers of Horſe and Foot, to fall upon thoſe Rebels at* Clantarfe *and thereabouts, who in ſuch diſdainful manner, ſtand to outface and dare us, and to endeavour to cut them off, as well for puniſhment as terrour to others, and to burn and ſpoil the Rebels Houſes and Goods: And to prevent their further annoying of the Shipping, going out and coming in, and lying in Harbour, thoſe Soldiers are to bring up, or cauſe to be brought up to the new* Crane *at* Dublin, *ſuch of the Boats and Veſſels now lying there as they can upon the ſudden; and to burn, ſpoil and ſink, and make unſerviceable the reſt.* Given at his Majeſty's Caſtle of *Dublin, December* 14. 1641.

Or. Oſſory, Rob. Dillon, Cha. Lambart, Ad. Loftus.
Jo. Temple, Cha. Coote. Fran. Willoughby.

According

According to their Lordships Directions, the Earl of *Ormonde* gave present Order to Sir *Charles Coot* to march out privately with some Forces unto *Clantarfe*, which he did without any noise; and meeting there with no opposition, he only suffered his Men to pillage the Town, whereof they burnt some part, as also part of Mr. *King*'s House, in which much of the goods were found that had been taken out of the Bark before mentioned: And this was the first expedition that the Forces newly raised in *Dublin*, made after the defeat of the six hundred Men in their passage to *Tredagh*: As for the Massacre at *Santry*, mentioned in the answer from the Lords of the Pale, and obtruded on the World, as a just pretence to deter them from waiting on the Lords at *Dublin*, it was no other than this: Information was given to some of the Officers of the Army, that there had been a robbery newly committed by certain Rebels at the House of one *Smith*, called the *Buskin*, within five miles of the City: And that if a Party of Soldiers might be sent forth, the Informer offered to bring them upon those Rebels, as also upon other Rebels, who had lately murdered one Mr. *Derick Hubart* a *Dutch* Merchant at the *Skerries*; whereupon two Officers with forty Foot, were sent out with direction to fall upon those Rebels: They went directly to *Santry*, and there finding some Strangers with Weapons lodged in suspicious Places, they slew four of them; who as was conceived were criminal Offenders, and one of them after upon further enquiry found to be a Protestant. 1641.

Sir *Charle Coot* marches out with some Forces to *Clantarfe*

The true relation of the pretended Massacre at *Santry*.

But how fairly soever this matter was carried, yet they resolved to make use of it for the present, by way of justification of their disloyalty: And having so far publickly declared themselves, they held it not fit to sit idle any longer, but began to put the whole Circuit of the Pale into a posture of War, and to make all such preparatives as might enable them by the powerful assistance they had out of the North, presently to take in *Tredagh*, and afterwards to march up to *Dublin*, and there make themselves Masters of that City and Castle: A work as now it stood represented unto them, not likely to prove less glorious than successful, and easie to be atchieved: They had for this end many publick meetings among themselves, as also with the chief Commanders of the Northern Rebels.

The Proceedings held by the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *English Pale*, after they had join'd with the Northern Rebels.

In the first place, they declared the Lord Viscount *Gormanstone*, General of the Forces to be raised in the Pale, *Hugh Birne*, Lieutenant General: The Earl of *Fingale*, General of the Horse: Then they gave power to those Lords to nominate Captains in several Baronies to be respectively appointed out of them, and likewise to raise Soldiers in every such Barony, *viz.* Eight Soldiers out of a Plow-land (which contains according to the ancient Estimation 120 Acres) and every Plow-land to maintain the Soldiers to be set out by them: The Barony of *Dulcek* was assigned to the

1641. the Lord of *Gormanſtone*; the Barony of *Screene* and *Deſſe*, to the Earl of *Fingale*; the Barony of *Slaine*, to the Lord of *Slaine*; the Barony of the *Navan*, to the Lord of *Trimbleſtone*; *Kells*, to the Lord *Dunſany*; *Ratogh* and *Dunboine*, to Sir *Richard Barnewall* of *Crickeſtown*, Baronet, and *Patrick Barnwell* of *Cilbrew*; and by theſe Perſons, ſeveral Captains were appointed, and numbers of Soldiers raiſed according to the Orders ſet down at the general meeting: There were alſo Warrants iſſued out by the Lord *Gormanſtone*, whereby thoſe Perſons appointed to raiſe the Men, and to furniſh them with Proviſions for their Entertainment were required upon pain of Death to ſend them out: Other Warrants were likewiſe ſent out to other Perſons who were appointed Overſeers for the threſhing out of all the Proteſtants Corn, which was aſſigned generally through the Pale to be applyed towards the maintenance of their Army. The next work was to make a conſtant Proviſion of all manner of neceſſaries for the Entertainment of ſuch Forces as were already brought down out of the North, as well as thoſe raiſed in the Pale, and ſet down at the Siege of *Tredagh*. And for this Service they ſeſſed the whole Country thereabouts, and ordered what proportions of Corn and numbers of Cattle ſhould be brought down out of every part for the Victualling of thoſe that lay encamped about the Town: There was allotted to every Company conſiſting of a hundred Men, for their daily allowance, one Bief, and half a Barrel of Corn: And that they might with the more facility bring in the Country People to furniſh their Army with theſe proportions; they made not only Prohibitions that no Corn ſhould be carried to *Dublin*, but ſo blocked up the ways as the poor Churles that lived ſomewhat diſtant from the City, could not carry their Corn thither without apparent Danger; whereby the Market began to be very ill provided, and great Want and Scarcity was much feared by reaſon of the large acceſſion of People come from ſeveral parts of the Kingdom up unto the City for ſafety. Whereupon the Lords Juſtices and Council made Proclamation to be publiſhed, That all ſuch as had Corn remaining within ſome few miles diſtance, ſhould as their uſual manner was, bring it to the Market at *Dublin*, and they ſhould receive ready Money for the ſame; in caſe they did not that, they would preſently ſend out Parties and burn their Corn as it ſtood in the Haggards, and ſo prevent the uſe the *Rebels* intended to make of it for the Victualling of their Army. By this means the City was indifferently well ſupplied all that Winter with Corn, the Country People though otherways very malicious againſt the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants, being content, tho' with much hazard, to adventure the bringing their Corn, where they ſold it at a good rate for ready Money, rather than to ſuffer it to be threſhed out by Warrants from the Lord of *Gormanſtone* for the uſe of the *Iriſh* Army then lying before *Tredagh*.

But

But while they continue their fruitleſs and unprofitable attempts there, having neither Skill, Courage, Experience, nor any means to bring about their impetuous deſires and fond endeavours for the taking in of that Town, I ſhall briefly repreſent a view of the ſad eſtate of our affairs in *Dublin*: It was now almoſt full two Months ſince the breaking out of this Rebellion: the Lords Juſtices and Council out of their deep apprehenſions of a general revolt of all the *Iriſh* through the Kingdom, did in the very beginning with much earneſtneſs ſolicite the preſent ſending over of Succours out of *England*: And as ſoon as they began to make a little further diſcovery into the ſtrength of this Conſpiracy, and found their own wants and utter Diſabilities to make any long or conſiderable oppoſition againſt the univerſal Power of the whole Body of the *Iriſh*, as it then began to appear unto them, firmly united with almoſt all the *Old Engliſh* that were of the *Romiſh* Profeſſion incorporated into their party throughout *Ireland*, they did with much more earneſtneſs by their frequent Letters and ſeveral Agents, repreſent unto his Majeſty and the Parliament of *England*, the very ill, even deſperate condition they were in; and therefore deſired that ſupplies both of men, money, and all kind of warlike proviſions, might be ſent away with all ſpeed unto them, declaring that unleſs they received them preſently, and that in great proportions, they were not able longer to ſubſiſt as they ſtood now environed on all ſides with multitudes of the Rebels, but had juſt reaſon to apprehend their own preſent ruin, and the inevitable loſs of the whole Kingdom: And becauſe they conceived the Levies in *England* could not be ſo ſuddenly made nor the men ſo eaſily tranſported from thence into the North of *Ireland*, (where the Rebels appeared in greateſt numbers, and had by their moſt unparallel'd cruelty towards the *Engliſh* done moſt miſchief) as out of *Scotland*, they made a propoſition to the Lord Lieutenant, to move both his Majeſty and the Parliament, that 10000 *Scots* might be preſently raiſed and ſent over into thoſe parts. This they preſſed with much earneſtneſs, repreſenting the very great terrour the meer *Iriſh* had of that Nation, that their bodies would better ſort with that Climate, endure more hardſhip, and with leſs diſtemper undergo the toils and miſeries of an *Iriſh* War; that the tranſportation would be made with much more facility and leſs charge, it being not above three or four hours ſail from ſome parts of *Scotland* into the North of *Irland*; That the Kingdom of *Scotland* had been lately in Arms, and ſo had all proviſions neceſſary for the furniſhing of their men for this expedition in readineſs: And laſtly, they having ſo good a foundation in the multitude of their own Countrymen ſo advantageouſly ſettled there already, would no doubt undertake the work with all alacrity, and rigorouſly proſecute the War with ſuch ſharpneſs, as might teſtifie their deep reſentment of the horrid cruelties exerciſed upon ſo many thouſands of their own Nation by that barbarous people. Theſe

1641.

The ſad condition of the publick affairs of the State.

The ſending of 10000 *Scots* into *Ireland* preſſed by the Lords Juſtices & Council.

1641. These Letters arrived very opportunely about the time of the King's return from *Edenburgh* to the Parliament of *England* then ſitting at *Weſtminſter:* And there being even then two *Scotiſh* Lords come out of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to treat with the Parliament of *England* concerning the ſending Forces from thence for the relief of *Ireland*; His Majeſty ſent to the Lords and Commons to give them notice of their arrival, and withal deſired, that certain Commiſſioners appointed by himſelf, and both Houſes of Parliament, might be preſently named to Treat with them, and from time to time, give an account of their proceedings to His Majeſty and both Houſes. This motion was with very great readineſs yielded unto, and it was ordered, that the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Leiceſter* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Lord *Howard* of *Eſtrick*; nominated by the Houſe of Peers: And *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Eſq; Sir *William Ermin*, Baronet, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Knight, *John Hamden*, Eſq; nominated by the Houſe of Commons, ſhould Treat with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners concerning the affairs of *Ireland*, and that there ſhould be a Commiſſion granted unto them to this effect, under the great Seal of *England*, together with particular Inſtructions to regulate the manner of their proceedings.

Commiſſioners ſent out of *Scotland* to Treat with the Parliament of *England* concerning the relief of *Ireland*.

In the propoſitions given in by the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, they did in the firſt place make offer of ten thouſand men in the name of the Kingdom of *Scotland:* And that they might be enabled to ſend them ſpeedily away, they deſired an advance of 30000 *l.* of the brotherly aſſiſtance afforded unto them by the Kingdom of *England*, and that what Arms and Munition they ſent into *Ireland*, might in the ſame proportions be returned unto them with all expedition.

Propoſitions preſented to the Parliament of *England*, for the relief of *Ireland*.

Next they deſired that ſome Ships of War might be appointed to guard the Seas betwixt *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to waft over their Soldiers which they deſigned to tranſport in ſmall Veſſels.

And then, that upon landing of their men in *Ireland*, there ſhould be a 100 horſe ready to joyn with every 1000 foot that they ſhould ſend thither: And that they ſhould receive Inſtructions and Orders, and in every thing obey the *Scotiſh* General.

These propoſitions being taken into conſideration in the Houſe of Commons, after they had duly conſidered of them, and weighed the high neceſſities of this Kingdom, that the *Scots* had 2500 men ready raiſed, and that they could not ſo ſuddenly make proviſion any other way for the ſaving *Ireland*, as by ſending theſe Forces out of *Scotland*, they readily condeſcended unto them; and having voted them ſeverally, they ſent them up to the Houſe of Peers, with their deſires for a ſpeedy concurrence in them.

These beginnings gave great hopes of the ſudden relief of *Ireland*; and it was now generally believed, that conſiderable Forces would be tranſported within a very ſhort time out of *Scotland* for the defence of the Northern parts

parts of this Kingdom; especially considering with how much earnestness His Majesty in his Speech made to the Lords and Commons in Parliament on the 14th of *December*, in this present year, had pressed them to take to heart the business of *Ireland*, and offered unto them whatsoever his power, pains or industry could contribute to the good and necessary work of reducing the *Irish* Nation to their true and wonted obedience. 1641.

The Forces designed for *Ireland*, retarded.

But, alas, these great expectations were soon dashed, and the Forces designed for *Ireland*, as well out of *England* as *Scotland*, strangely retarded by several obstructions which daily arose in the transaction of the *Irish* affairs.

For first, His Majesty in the same Speech, wherein he conjured them, by all that was dear to him or them, to go on chearfully and speedily for the reducing of *Ireland*, did take notice of a Bill for pressing Soldiers for *Ireland*, depending in the House of Peers, and declaring his dislike of putting it in that way, told them he would pass it, so there were a *Salvo jure* put into it both for the King and People, but withal, told them that he thought himself little beholding unto him whosoever it was, that began this dispute so far trenching upon the bounds of his ancient and undoubted prerogative.

These Passages in his Majesty's Speech were deeply resented, not only by the Lords who were more particularly concerned in them, but by the House of Commons: And therefore His Majesty had no sooner ended his Speech and left their House, but that the Lords fell into consideration of the same, and resolved that the King by taking notice of the debate in their House of the Bill, concerning pressing of Soldiers, had broken the fundamental priviledges of Parliament. And presently a Message was brought unto them likewise by Mr. *Hollis* from the House of Commons, to desire a Conference with their Lordships by Committees of both Houses touching the Priviledges of Parliament: At the conference they fully expressed the deep sense they had of the high injury offered unto them, by His Majesty invading their Priviledges; and proceeded so far as to come not only to petition His Majesty, and to desire that he would be pleased to make known that Person who had given him information so unduly of what had passed in their House: but also, to make a Protestation concerning their Privileges: This took up some time, and the great misunderstanding even which then began to appear betwixt His Majesty and the Parliament, had so strong an influence into the business of *Ireland*, as notwithstanding the high necessities of this Kingdom, and the great affections expressed by the Kingdom of *England* for our sudden relief here, the resolutions were slow, and the preparations went so heavily on, as it was long before the House of Commons could find means to enable the Lord Lieutenant to send so much as one Regiment away out of *England*, for the defence of

1641. the Caſtle and City of *Dublin*, then much diſtreſſed by the near approach of the Rebels.

The debate of the propoſitions preſented by the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners in the Houſe of Peers,

And now for the Forces to be ſent out of *Scotland* into the Northern Parts of this Kingdom, they meet with ſeveral Obſtructions likewiſe. For firſt, the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* had not power given them from the State there, to treat for the ſending over a leſſer number than ten thouſand Men, which the Lords here were very unwilling to condeſcend unto. But this Obſtacle was ſoon removed by the zealous Affections of the Houſe of Commons, who, as ſoon as the Propoſitions brought in by the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners for the relief of *Ireland*, were preſented unto them, voted their Aſſent to treat for the ſending of the number of ten thouſand Men out of *Scotland*, according to the Inſtructions given to the Commiſſioners by that Kingdom; and ſent up a Meſſage to the Houſe of Peers by Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Kt. to lay before their Lordſhips, the miſerable Eſtate of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to let them know that the Houſe of Commons conceived the beſt way for the preſervation of it out of the hands of the Rebels, was ſpeedily to diſpatch the *Scots* into the Province of *Ulſter*, and therefore deſired that they would join with them in the Propoſitions received from the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners.

Upon the receit of this Meſſage, the Houſe of Peers fell upon the ſaid Propoſition, and after a long debate, it was at length agreed, that ten thouſand *Scots* ſhould be ſent into *Ireland*, if the Houſe of Commons would condeſcend that at the ſame time there might ten thouſand *Engliſh* Men be as ſpeedily ſent likewiſe thither; and thereupon deſired a Conference with the Houſe of Commons, that they might fully underſtand their Reſolution therein, which being yielded unto by the Houſe of Commons, the Lords at the Conference preſſed with much earneſtneſs, that they might be aſſured of the ſending over of ten thouſand *Engliſh* at the ſame time that the *Scots* were to be ſent away: Whereunto the Houſe of Commons replied, that they were not to be capitulated withal; that their actions were free as well without conditions as capitulations; that they thought they had given ſufficient certainty already of their reſolution to ſend that number of *Engliſh* into *Ireland*; and therefore deſired that their Lordſhips would Vote the ſending away of ten thouſand *Scots* by it ſelf without any relation to the *Engliſh* ſpoken of by them.

This took up a large debate in the Houſe of Peers, and was one main cauſe of the ſlow proceeding on of the Treaty with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners. I ſhall not undertake to determine at ſo great a diſtance from whence theſe obſtructions grew, but I am very ſure we could here eaſily find, that there were ſome ſuch ſecret workings underhand againſt the good affections expreſſed by the Houſe of Commons, and by the Lords who were well affected to the ſervice of *Ireland*, as that this Treaty was very

very much retarded thereby, and was not brought on to any concluſion in many Months after. So as in the mean time, all the *Britiſh* planted throughout this Kingdom, were deſpoiled, driven out of their habitations, or moſt cruelly murdered within their own doors: and the *Iriſh* ſtrengthned themſelves in all parts of the Country, and prevailing every where, drew many to joyn with them, that had hitherto kept themſelves in a kind of Neutrality, as ſuppoſing that the State here would be altogether deſerted, and no Forces at all ſent out of *England* for the ſuppreſſing of the *Iriſh* as had taken up Arms in this quarrel. 1641.

The whole Province of *Munſter* about the midſt of this Month of *December*, began to declare themſelves in open Rebellion. The Lord Preſident there had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs their very beginnings, but by reaſon of his want of ſtrength was now able to contain them no longer: He did with all diligence and carefulneſs labour to prevent the joyning together of any numbers of the *Iriſh* in any of thoſe parts: And when he underſtood how they began in ſome places of the Province to deſpoil the *Engliſh*, and that they had near *Waterford* gotten away many of the *Engliſh* mens Cattle, and were carrying them out of the limits of his Government, he thought it not fit longer to ſit ſtill, but gallantly purſued thoſe Rebels in his own perſon, being accompanied only with his own Troop of horſe, and ſome few Gentlemen of the Country, who joyned with them, and after a long and tedious march came upon them unawares, ſlew 200 of thoſe Rebels, reſtored the cattle to the *Engliſh* that were owners of them, and took ſeveral priſoners whom he hanged for a greater terrour to all ſuch as ſhould adventure afterwards to follow their example: As ſoon as he had done this ſervice, his Lordſhip retired back to *Cork*, having neither Forces nor means to make any further proſecution: which the *Iriſh* well enough underſtood, and therefore drew together in ſeveral places of that Province; and tho' they did not in that barbarous manner, as they in *Ulſter*, hew down, cut in pieces, hang, drown or preſently murder all the *Engliſh* among them; yet many horrid murders they committed, uſed ſeveral kinds of cruelty to many particular perſons, and for all the reſt that fell into their hands, they robbed and violently deprived them of all their goods and cattle, moſt miſerably ſtripped them out of their cloaths; and leaving them quite naked, ſuffered moſt of them in that lamentable poſture to paſs to *Cork*, *Youghall*, *Kinſale*, and other Ports there to embark their miſerable Carcaſſes for *England*, where few arrived ſafely, and I am ſure I may well ſay few, in reſpect of thoſe multitudes who periſhed through want, cold and famine, before they could get to thoſe Towns, or otherways died after their arrival in them, or were by ſtorms at Sea caſt away. And for the *Engliſh* who ſtood upon their guard and immured themſelves up in ſeveral Caſtles of good ſtrength in thoſe parts, they endured many Months

The revolt of the *Iriſh* in the Province of *Munſter*.

The miſery ſuffered by the *Engliſh* in *Munſter*.

1641. siege, suffered much want and misery, and having bravely resisted all the assaults and attempts that the *Irish* made with great multitudes upon them, and in many places caused them to raise their sieges with great loss and slaughter of their men, yet they were afterwards, finding themselves without all hope or possibility of relief, enforced to deliver those places together with the multitudes of the *English* they had received, into the hands of the Rebels, upon fair quarter solemnly promised by them: And in many places no sooner had they by that means gotten entrance into them, but that they most perfidiously broke the quarter given, despoiled them of that little remainder of their substance they had then left, and sent them away in great want and misery to find relief among other *English* Garrisons. But the whole Country being wasted and destroyed, and the poor *English* that lived in them, despoiled of all their substance, were become so miserable and poor, as that they were able to afford them very little relief or comfort, besides pity and compassion, which could not support or keep alive those languishing gastly Creatures, so as multitudes dyed, some in ditches, some travelling on the high-ways, some under hedges, and so left their Carcasses as fearful spectacles to the beholders, and sad monuments of the inhumane cruelties exercised on them by those bloody Rebels, who yet under pretence of mercy spared their lives, but took up a resolution as they were not ashamed to declare, to put them to a more lingring death; and therefore left them in such a condition as inevitably brought on their miserable ends with much more discomfort and sorrow.

But this shall suffice to shew the beginning of the rising of the *Irish* in *Munster*; the particulars whereof shall be clearly and at large set down in the following Relations of their first proceedings within that Province, where it shall be declared likewise, how all the great Towns in *Leinster*, except *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, did about the same time begin to strip and expel all the *British* and Protestants, that either inhabited in them, or fled out of the Country near about to shelter themselves there, from the barbarous cruelties of their *Irish* neighbours.

Dublin distressed. As for the City of *Dublin*, it began now to be much more straitly encompassed by the Forces of the Rebels, much encreased through their late conjunction with the *English Pale*. And in case of their want of power to force it, yet they having made their approaches so near, and having so absolutely stopped up all the avenues, as we had great reason to apprehend their keeping back of provisions would drive the City into high necessities, and quickly occasion great want there. And here I cannot without much grief of heart call to mind the lamentable complaints and bitter out-crys, which until this time, were continully sent up unto the Lords Justices and Council, while they remained in this posture, out of several Parts of the Country, where the *English* Inhabitants being by the *Irish* driven out of

their

their habitations, had for their preſent ſafeguard put themſelves into Houſes or Caſtles of ſome ſtrength; they there enduring much want and miſery, made ſhift, though not without great difficulty, by ſeveral Meſſages and Letters to make known their condition to the State, as alſo that they were reſolved, as many of them did, to ſuffer the utmoſt extremities out of hope of relief, and a confident expectation of ſuccours from them. 1641.

But, Alas! all was in vain, they were able to afford them no other comfort than what their pitiful commiſeration of their ſorrowful condition would adminiſter; they were themſelves reduced ſo low, as with the greateſt power they could raiſe, they durſt not adventure to ſend any ways five miles out of the City, their ſupplies out of *England* were not arrived, they had neither place nor means to raiſe men, but only within the verge of the City; and ſuch as they ordinarily took up there, were either *Iriſh*, whereof many ran preſently away with their Arms to the Rebels, or poor ſtripped *Engliſh*, and Inhabitants of this City, who were raw men, and though they afterwards being well exerciſed and trained to the uſe of their Arms, proved very good Soldiers; yet for the preſent they were very unfit for ſervice: As appeared in that little expedition Colonel *Craford* made out with his men to *Finglas*, a little Town two miles diſtant from the City, at the ſame time, when Sir *Charles Coot* marched forth to beat *Luke Nettervile* with his undiſciplined Regiment out of his quarters at *Santry*, who having timely notice of his coming ſaved him the labour, for he preſently upon the rumour thereof, diſlodged, and fled in ſo much haſte, as he left ſome of his beſt equipage and all his proviſions behind him: But that Party of Rebels Colonel *Craford* found at *Finglas*, having placed themſelves with good advantage behind great ditches, ſtood better to their work, and carried themſelves ſo ſtoutly, as our new raiſed men began to ſhrink, and had not the Colonel and ſome other of his Officers behaved themſelves very well that day, their men had made a moſt dangerous and ſhameful retreat. This was the greateſt Expedition the Forces in *Dublin* were able to undertake at that time; which no man will wonder at, if he doth conſider as it hath been related, how the Town was in a manner ſurrounded on every ſide by ſeveral Parties of the Rebels gathered together; all commerce was interrupted, all proviſions brought out of the Country for the ſupply of it intercepted, as alſo, that all the chief of the *Engliſh* Inhabitants had tranſported themſelves, their goods, and their Families into *England*, many of the Papiſts had upon other reaſons retired themſelves, and what belonged unto them, into the Country, and there taken up their habitations within the Rebels quarters; no manner of intercourſe with any perſons whatſoever that made their abode without the diſtance of two miles from any part of the City; no intelligence to be had upon any terms from among the Rebels, all courſes taken for it diſappointed, ſeveral Meſſengers hanged

Some Forces ſent out to encounter the *Rebels* who lodged within three miles of *Dublin*.

Dublin ſurrounded on every ſide by the *Rebels*.

1641. hanged up; and yet on the other ſide, all our deſigns diſcloſed, our weakneſs diſcovered, and the moſt private reſolutions by one means or other communicated unto them. The Parties of the Rebels that lay near about the City, were theſe following; *Luke Nettervile* being beaten from *Sautry*, lay with near two thouſand men at *Swords*, a Town ſix miles diſtant, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Caſtle of *Artaine*, and ſome other places within two miles of the City: On the Weſt-ſide of the City, at *Taſſagard*, *Rath-coole*, *Caſtle-Lyons*, and other little Villages within the compaſs of ſix miles, there lay two thouſand more of the Rebels who were come down out of the Counties of *Caterlagh*, *King's County*, *Kildare*, and other parts under the Command of *Roger Moor*, and *Sutton*, *Euſtace* of *Caſtle Martin*, and others. The *Clandonells*, *Birnes* and *Tooles*, were alſo come down in great numbers out of the County of *Wicklow*, and had lodged themſelves in ſome Caſtles towards the Sea-ſide, and in ſome Villages at the Foot of the Mountain, not above three or four miles diſtant from the Town on the South-ſide: How deſperately theſe Forces threatned our ruine and ſudden deſtruction will appear by this enſuing Letter bearing date about the midſt of *December*, written from the Lords Juſtices and Council, unto the Lord Lieutenant then attending for his diſpatch.

A LETTER from the Lords Juſtices and Council, to the Lord LIEUTENANT.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

'BY our Letters of the third of *December*, we made known to your 'Lordſhip, that Mr. *Hawtrige* was then newly arrived with the 'Treaſure ſent us from thence, which came but to ſixteen thouſand five 'hundred fourſcore and ten pounds, a ſupply of Treaſure far ſhort of 'that which is now become neceſſary to perform any conſiderable ſervice 'here againſt the Rebels, whoſe numbers are increaſed wonderfully, inſo- 'much as the Forces they have about *Drogheda* on all ſides of it, and be- 'tween *Drogheda* and this place, reaching even within four miles of this 'City, are upon very credible report, conceived to be above twenty thou- 'ſand men, and beſides thoſe numbers who are ſo united between this and '*Drogheda* and thereabouts, there are many thouſands of them diſperſed the 'whole Kingdom over; for the meaner ſort of people firſt riſe generally, 'and then thoſe of better quality follow after, and the fire which was 'firſt kindled in *Ulſter*, and lay a while ſmothered in other parts, begins

'now

'now to break out ſo generally, as the defection now appears to be uni- 1641.
'verſal throughout the whole four Provinces; ſo ſtrangely rooted was
'the Combination, and that ſtrengthened under the ſpecious ſhew of a
'War for Religion; for although before and ſince the Caution we had
'from your Lordſhip, We have on our part endeavoured not to give any
'apprehenſion to the *Iriſh*, that *England* doth intend to make it a War
'of Religion, yet as we formerly made known to your Lordſhip, the
'Rebels labour mainly to have it ſo underſtood. Nay, they now go ſo
'far as they call themſelves generally the Catholick Army, a Title which
'hath drawn many thouſands to their party, and yet many joyned with
'them for no other reaſon than becauſe they ſaw our Succours expected
'forth of *England* and *Scotland* deferred; they rightly judging, that with-
'out thoſe Succours, we are not able to defend them our ſelves; and
'indeed until thoſe Succours come, they muſt and will ſtill encreaſe; but
'if our men and arms were once arrived the very countenance of their
'coming would draw many from them to us, and give ſome ſtop to the
'fury, with which they yet carry all before them whitherſoever they
'come.

'They continue their rage and malignity againſt the *Engliſh* and Pro-
'teſtants, who if they leave their goods or cattle for more ſafety with any
'Papiſts, thoſe are called out by the Rebels, and the Papiſts goods and
'cattle left behind; and now upon ſome new Councils taken by them,
'they have added to their former, a farther degree of cruelty, even of
'the higheſt nature, which is to proclaim, That if any *Iriſh* ſhall harbour
'or relieve any *Engliſh*, that be ſuffered to eſcape them with his life, that
'it ſhall be penal even to death to ſuch *Iriſh*; and ſo they will be ſure
'though they put not thoſe *Engliſh* actually to the Sword, yet they do
'as certainly and with more cruelty cut them off that way, than if they
'had done it by the Sword; and they profeſs they will never give over
'until they leave not any ſeed of an *Engliſh* man in *Ireland*.

'Nor is their malice towards the *Engliſh* expreſſed only ſo, but further
'even to the beaſts of their fields, and improvements of their hands, for
'they deſtroy all Cattle of *Engliſh* breed, and declare openly, that their
'reaſon is, becauſe they are *Engliſh*; ſo great is their hatred, not only to
'the perſons of the *Engliſh*, but alſo to every ſpecies of that Nation; and
'they deſtroy all improvements made by the *Engliſh*, and lay waſte the
'habitations.

'We formerly ſignified to your Lordſhip, that to take away all jealou-
'ſie from the Papiſts of the *Engliſh Pale*, we would furniſh them with ſome
'Arms, and the rather becauſe we well know that in the laſt great Rebel-
'lion in *Ireland*, the *Engliſh Pale* ſtood firm to the Crown of *England*;
'and that the Rebel *Tyrone* in the height of his Power and Greatneſs,

'was

1641. 'was never able to get into the *Pale* with his Forces whilſt he was in re-
'bellion; and upon this occaſion, the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the
'*Pale*, making deep profeſſions of their Loyalty to his Majeſty, in imita-
'tion of their Anceſtors, and with expreſſions ſeeming to abhor the Con-
'trivers of this Rebellion here, againſt whom they offered their power
'and ſtrength, ſo as they might have Arms; and we being well aſſured
'that if we could gain their concurrence with us, it would much faci-
'litate our work; we did at their earneſt ſuit iſſue for them Arms for
'one thouſand ſeven hundred men, wherewith divers Companies were
'armed by them, and ſome of themſelves were appointed Governours of
'the Forces of the Counties, and Captains of their Companies; but ſo
'many of thoſe Companies revolted to the Rebels, and carried away their
'Arms with them, as we have recovered back but nine hundred and fifty
'Arms; ſo as thoſe whoſe loyalty we had reaſon to expect would help
'us, are now through their diſloyalty turned againſt us, and are ſtrengthe-
'ned with our own Arms; and without all queſtion, if thoſe of the
'*Engliſh Pale* had done their parts as became good Subjects with their
'Arms they had from us, and thoſe they might gather amongſt them-
'ſelves, they might with our help not only have defended the *Pale* a-
'gainſt the Rebels, but might alſo have prevented the ruin and deſtru-
'ction wrought by their Tenants and Neighbours on the poor *Engliſh*
'and Proteſtants amongſt them; for the Noblemen and Gentry ſate ſtill
'and looked on, whilſt the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants were ruined before
'their faces; the Papiſts in the mean time remaining ſecure, without the
'loſs of goods, or any thing elſe.

'When we ſaw the power and ſtrength of the Rebels ſtill growing
'upon us more and more, and approaching by degrees more near to us,
'and the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants robbed and ſpoiled even within two
'miles of this City, in diſdain and affront of this State, which are
'ſcorns of ſo high a nature, as we could not endure, if we had ſtrength
'ſufficient to repreſs their inſolencies; and when we obſerved the retar-
'ding of our Succours of Men and Arms from *England* or *Scotland*, nei-
'ther of both Succours being yet come, nor as we heard ſo much as in
'view there or in *Scotland*; and when we found apparently that for
'want of thoſe ſupplies, we became in a manner ſo contemptible, as we
'were in danger to be ſet upon for taking from us this City and Caſtle
'before our aids ſhould come, we bethought us of all the means we
'could of gaining time, being confident that we cannot be ſo deſerted
'by the State of *England*, but that ſome ſupplies may yet come unto
'us; And therefore on the third of *December*, we directed our Letters to
'divers of the Nobility of the Kingdom who were neareſt to us, and
'moſt of them being of the *Engliſh Pale*, to be with us here on the

'eighth

'eighth day of this Month, that we might confer with them concern- 1641.
'ing the preſent ſtate of the Kingdom; and we hoped by their help, to
'handle the matter ſo as we might gain a few days time before our ſur-
'priſal here, by which time in all likelihood our Succours might arrive,
'although it be boldly given out by the Rebels, that we ſhall have no
'Succours from thence, which they divulge to embolden their party, and
'to ſtrike terrour and diſcouragement into the well-affected, amongſt
'whom there are many ſo weak, as to apprehend from thence too much
'fear, whereby many are fled the Kingdom.

'On the eighth day of this Month, the Earl of *Kildare*, the Lord Viſ-
'count *Fitz-Williams*, and the Lord Baron of *Houth* came unto us, but
'the reſt of the Noblemen not coming deferred our conference, and on
'the eleventh day of this Month we received Letters from ſeven of them,
'namely, the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſtone*, the Lord
'Viſcount *Nettervile*, and the Lords of *Slaine*, *Trimbleſtone*, *Dunſany* and
'*Lowth*, dated the ſeventh day of this Month, and ſigned by them, pre-
'tending a fear of a Maſſacre on thoſe of their Religion, and that there-
'fore they are deterred, to wait on us, but do rather think it fit to
'ſtand upon their guard; and how that reſolution of theirs may ſtand
'with the loyalty they profeſs, we humbly ſubmit to his Majeſty's excel-
'lent Judgment, for whoſe Royal view we ſend you here incloſed, a Copy
'of their ſaid Letters.

'When we received thoſe Letters, we did admire whence the fears of
'coming to us ſhould ariſe; but afterwards we heard that they had been
'in conſultation with the Rebels, which alſo as to moſt of them is con-
'firmed by the encloſed Examination of *Chriſtopher Hampton*, and indeed
'we know no cauſe of fear they have of us, unleſs their own guilts
'begot in them the fear they pretend; and they ſpare not though unjuſt-
'ly to charge us with a neglect of their advices; whereas not one of
'them to this Houſe offered to us any advice or real aſſiſtance towards
'Pacification of theſe troubles.

'It became then publick (nor could we keep ſecret that which they had
'publiſhed to others) that thoſe Noblemen ſo far ſided with the Rebels
'as they now ſtood on their guard; we therefore adjudged it fit for vin-
'dicating the State from the Aſperſion which we found ſo publickly en-
'deavoured to be laid upon us, to publiſh the incloſed Proclamation, as
'well to ſatisfie to the World as thoſe Noblemen, who certainly are
'abundantly ſatisfied in their own ſecret thoughts, that we never intended
'to Maſſacre them or any other; that being a thing which we and all
'good Proteſtants do much abhor, whatever the practice of their reli-
'gion is, and hath been found to be by woful experience in other parts,
'whereof we confeſs we are now in great danger, if our long expected

1641. 'Succours come not the ſooner to us; and it may be gathered from that 'unexampled tyranny which the Rebels have already exerciſed towards 'thoſe of our Nation and Religion, who fell into their hands, what we 'for our parts may expect from them; but the diſhonour and ſhame 'which may reflect upon the *Engliſh* Nation by expoſing this State and 'Kingdom to ſo apparent ruine, and with it the extirpation of God's true 'Religion, afflicts us more than the loſs of our own lives and fortunes, 'when all might be ſaved by ſending ſeaſonably thoſe Succours.

'We lately received Letters from the Lady *Ofaly*, and a Letter con-'taining moſt inſolent Menaces, incloſed therein, ſent her from the Re-'bels, to which ſhe ſent them a noble Anſwer, Copies whereof we ſend 'here incloſed.

'One of the Rebels ſtiling himſelf Chaplain Major and Overſeer of the 'Coaſts and Harbours, lately ſent a Summons in a proud and vaunting 'manner, to one *Edward Leech*, that was entruſted to keep the Iſland of '*Lambay*, requiring the delivery up of that Iſland to the Rebels, which 'being done, he gave *Leech* a Paſs, wherein he ſtiles the Rebels Forces 'the Catholick Army: A Copy of which Summons and Paſs we ſend your 'Lordſhip here incloſed; and *Leech* told us that that mighty Chaplain 'declared openly to him, That he was Plotter of this Rebellion. That he 'had ſpent in Travel and Proſecution of that deſign beyond Seas four 'thouſand pound; and that all the Kings in Chriſtendom, excepting the 'King of *England*, and the King of *Denmark*, have hands in this bu-'ſineſs.

'A Caſtle in the Town of *Longford*, held by the *Engliſh*, who ſtood 'out a while againſt the Rebels, being in the end through want of victu-'als neceſſitated to be rendred up to them, upon promiſe of quarter, a 'Popiſh Prieſt ſtanding with his Skean in his hand, watching for the com-'ing forth of a Miniſter then among the *Engliſh*, did by thruſting that 'Skean into the Miniſter's Guts, and ripping up his Belly give that as a 'Signal to the Rebels, for falling upon the reſt of the *Engliſh*, which 'they did accordingly, aſſoon as the Miniſter was murdered, killing ſome 'and hanging the reſt moſt perfidiouſly.

'On the ninth of this Month, we received advertiſement, that great 'numbers of men were gathered together in Warlike manner at *Swoords* 'in the County of *Dublin* within ſix miles of us, they having the Army 'of the Rebels behind them on this ſide *Drogheda*; whereupon we then 'immediately ſent out our Warrant, commanding them to diſperſe: A 'Copy whereof we ſend your Lordſhip here incloſed; which was not 'obeyed; but a Letter ſent us from *Luke Nettervile* Son to the Lord Viſ-'count *Nettervile*, and others of them: A Copy whereof we likewiſe 'ſend here incloſed; Whereupon we publiſhed the incloſed Manifeſt, for

'vindicating

'vindicating this State from their Aſperſions alſo: And it is obſervable, 1641.
'that thoſe Gentlemen at *Swoords* could even on that very *Tueſday* night,
'wherein they alledge they were ſo affrighted at their Houſes, aſſemble
'twelve hundred men together in that moment of time, to have in rea-
'dineſs againſt any attempt from the State, whereas for many days before,
'they could ſit ſtill and look on, whilſt an Army of the Enemy lay
'behind them, betwixt them and *Drogheda*, and whilſt ſome of them
'openly declared Rebels, and many of their neighbours, who doubt-
'leſs hold under-hand intelligence with the Rebels, robbed and ſpoil-
'ed the *Engliſh* on all parts round about them; and yet thoſe Gentlemen
'could not in all that time be either ſo affrighted by the Rebels, or ſo
'compaſſionate of their poor *Engliſh* neighbours, as to aſſemble any men
'for the defence of themſelves, or thoſe their poor *Engliſh* neighbours;
'and certainly thoſe Gentlemen might have been as believing in this State
'who have always uſed lenity and mildneſs towards them, as in the Forces
'of the Rebels which lie ſo near behind them, and who they know have
'murdered many of His Majeſty's good and innocent Subjects, and for
'ought they know (if there were not ſecret intelligence between them)
'might have uſed them alſo in like manner.

'But the Truth is, we conceive thoſe Gentlemen had a mind to joyn
'with the Rebels, and do now take up pretences to cover their diſloyal-
'ty, and caſt ſcandal on this Government.

'The Rebels in the *Pale* as in other parts, have cauſed Maſſes to be
'ſaid openly in the Churches, expelled the Miniſters from Officiating in
'their Churches, and forced divers perſons for ſaving their lives and goods
'to become Papiſts, openly profeſſing that no Proteſtant ſhall be ſuffered to
'live in *Ireland*, and whilſt they inſult thus over all the *Engliſh* and Pro-
'teſtants, deſtroying them for no other reaſon, but for that they are Pro-
'teſtants and *Engliſh*, we let fall nothing againſt them touching Religion,
'and yet they feign things againſt us, tending that way to give ſome co-
'lour to their cruel proceedings.

'The Rebels of the County of *Kildare* have taken the *Naas* and *Kil-*
'*dare* in the County of *Kildare*. The Rebels of *Meath* have taken *Trim*,
'and *Aſhboy* in the County of *Meath*, and divers other places; The Re-
'bels of the County of *Dublin* have poſſeſſed *Swoords* and *Rathcoole*, and
'ſpoyled all the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants even to the Gates of *Dublin*; and
'now about fifteen hundred of the Rebels of *Wicklow* are in and about
'*Powerſcourt*, and about ten miles from this City; there are alſo between
'this and the *Naas* within ſix or ſeven miles of us a thouſand of the Re-
'bels of *Kildare*, and the borders of *Wicklow* and *Dublin*, ſo as we are
'in this City invironed by them on all ſides by Land, and they begin to
'ſtop acceſſes to us by Sea; for the Fiſhermen on the Sea-Coaſts being all

1641. 'Iriſh and Papiſts Inhabitants in the *Pale*, brake out alſo into Rebellion 'with the multitude, and have robbed, ſpoiled and pillaged even within 'the Bay of *Dublin* ſeveral Barks coming hither forth of *England*. And 'if to revenge this villany on the Fiſhermen at *Clantarfe* and thereabouts, 'ſo near us, we ſend forth a Party of Soldiers to burn and ſpoil thoſe Re-'bels Houſes and Corn, the Gentlemen of the *Pale* will immediately take 'new offence; but that we will adventure upon; for now there is no dal-'liance with them, who ſo far declare themſelves againſt the State, not 'caring what ſcorns are put upon the Government, wherein is obſervable, 'that the Landlord of *Clantarfe* is one of thoſe Gentlemen riſen in Arms 'at *Swoords*.

'Your Lordſhip now ſees not only the neceſſity of haſtening with all 'poſſible ſpeed our Succours of Men and Arms both out of *England* and '*Scotland*, in greater numbers than thoſe at firſt deſigned, ſeeing the 'breach appears to be far greater, and the defection more general than at 'firſt was conceived; and yet ſo as ſuch of them as are ready be not for-'ced to ſtay for the reſt, but that thoſe may be ſo ordered as to come af-'ter, for no fleſh can imagine, unleſs they ſaw it as we do, the greatneſs 'of our danger, who are but a handful in compariſon of the multitudes 'riſen againſt us: And we deſire that the ten thouſand deſigned to come from '*Scotland*, may be wholly ſent away, as well the five thouſand intended to 'be left there in a readineſs as the reſt, with direction to land as near '*Dublin* as they may, and whereſoever they land to march to *Dublin* if 'poſſibly they can; and to ſend away with all ſpeed the Ships appointed for 'guarding theſe Coaſts, is alſo very neceſſary to be haſtened, and that 'two or three Ships of good ſtrength follow after: doubtleſs theſe Re-'bels expect a very great ſupply of Arms and Munition from foreign Parts 'either *Spain* or *France*.

'And although out of the fore-ſight we had of this extremity ſince 'theſe troubles began, we have endeavoured to get in ſome proviſions of 'victual and corn, yet we have not been able to provide our ſelves ſuffi-'ciently to ſtand out any long ſiege, nor can we now get in any more, 'our Markets being almoſt taken away, and the ſtrength of the Rebels 'ſurrounding us ſo as we can fetch in no more Proviſions; wherefore we 'beſeech your Lordſhip that the Magazines of Victuals deſigned to be 'ſettled on that ſide, may be ſettled with all ſpeed, if it be not done al-'ready, whereby we and the Succours we expect, may not be in diſtreſs 'of Victuals for our ſelves or them, or Oats for our Horſes. Our want of 'Victuals is the more in reſpect of the daily acceſs of the *Engliſh* ſpoiled 'in the Country.

'The

'The neceſſity of the defence of the Province of *Munſter*, required the 1641.
'immediate raiſing of a Regiment of Foot conſiſting of one thouſand
'Men, and two Troops of Horſe of threeſcore each Troop, which three-
'ſcore we appointed the Lord Preſident to raiſe, and for the payment and
'arming of them, we humbly adviſe, ſeeing we cannot do it, that Money
'and Arms be ſent from thence to *Youghall*, with a further ſupply of
'Arms and Munition for the Stores in that Province now much wanting
'there.

'And as the Rebels which have beſet us and this City on all ſides by
'Land, do threaten to cut off our Market at *Dublin*, which we begin to
'feel already: So they boldly declare, that they will within a day or two
'cut off the watercourſe, which brings Water to this City and Caſtle;
'and that done, that their multitudes will immediately burn our Suburbs
'and beſiege our Walls, which we confeſs we yet want Strength to de-
'fend, and muſt want till our Supplies come forth of *England* or *Scotland*
'or both; for here we have but about three thouſand Men, the reſt of
'the old Companies being diſperſed in ſeveral needful Garriſons in the
'Country (excepting ſeven Companies of them ſurpriſed, and cut off by
'the Rebels at their firſt riſing in *Ulſter* and other Parts) and about two
'hundred Horſe by pole of the old Army, whereof many are *Iriſh:* ſo as
'conſidering the ſpaciouſneſs of this City and Suburbs to be defended, the
'ſmallneſs of our number to defend them, and the great numbers of Pa-
'piſts Inhabitants in this City and Suburbs; and laſtly, the very great
'numbers of the Rebels, who are ſo ſtrong as to approach this City with
'many thouſands, and yet leave many thouſands alſo at the ſiege of
'*Drogheda*, we cannot expect to be able to defend this City for any
'long time againſt them, without the Arrival of our expected Suc-
'cours.

'The Earl of *Caſtle-haven* on the tenth of this Month, preſented at this
'Board the incloſed Oath tendered unto him by the Rebels to be ſworn
'by him, which he ſaith he refuſed to ſwear, and we hear they ſend it to
'all parts to be tendered to the people, preſſing them to take the Sacra-
'ment thereupon.

'We did lately in hope to gain ſome time until our ſupplies might come,
'liſten to an offer made by ſome Popiſh Prieſts to go to the Rebels
'and Treat with them, as you may perceive by the incloſed: But ſince
'we find there is little hope of it; for ſome of the Prieſts are returned, no-
'thing being wrought thereby.

'However it is fit your Lordſhip ſhould know what we do; we muſt
'now crave leave to declare to your Lordſhip, that things being riſen here
'to this height, threatning not only the ſhaking of the Government, but
'the loſs of the Kingdom, as the Supplies of Men, Arms, and more Trea-
'ſure

1641. 'ſure, are of great neceſſity to be haſtened away hither; ſo it is alſo 'needful that we enjoy your Lordſhip's preſence here, for the conduct in 'your own perſon of the great and important affairs of this State, as 'well in the Martial as in the Civil Government, which do neceſſarily 'require it in this time of great imminent danger, wherein ſo far as we 'may be able to contribute any aſſiſtance with you, we ſhall be ready to 'diſcharge our duties therein, with that loyalty and uprightneſs of heart 'which we owe to his Majeſty, and the particular reſpect due from us 'to your Lordſhip; but we hope you will bring that ſtrength with you, 'which may befit the Greatneſs of the King our Maſter to ſend with 'his Lieutenant againſt ſo numerous enemies as theſe Rebels are become, 'as well for the Honour of his Majeſty, as for the terrour of thoſe 'Rebels.

'By what we have heretofore and now humbly repreſented to your 'Lordſhip, you may in part ſee the greatneſs of the publick danger 'wherein this Kingdom now ſtands, and particularly this City and Caſtle, 'the principal piece thereof, that if thoſe be loſt (which we now again 'aſſure your Lordſhip, were never in ſo great peril to be loſt ſince the 'firſt Conqueſt of this Kingdom by the Crown of *England*) the whole 'Kingdom muſt quickly follow; that the danger which muſt thereupon 'ariſe to the Kingdom of *England*, is very great in many reſpects. 'There is no poſſibility to prevent thoſe evils with honour and ſafety to '*England*, but by Succours from thence or *Scotland*, or both; and that 'if thoſe Succours come not ſpeedily, it cannot be avoided, but the 'Kingdom muſt be loſt.

'And if notwithſtanding all this, ſo often and truly made known by us 'to your Lordſhip, we ſhall periſh for want of Supplies, we ſhall carry 'this comfort with us to our graves or any other burial we ſhall have, 'that your Lordſhip can witneſs for us to the Royal Majeſty, and to 'all the World, that we have diſcharged our duties to God, to his Ma'jeſty, to that Nation, and to this, in humbly repreſenting to his Ma'jeſty by your Lordſhip, the chief Governour of the Kingdom, the ex'tremities and dangers wherein his Kingdom and people ſtand, and the 'neceſſity of haſtning Supplies hither, by all poſſible means for preſerva'tion of both; ſo as whatever become of our perſons, our memory can'not be juſtly ſtained with ſo wretched a breach of faith and loyalty to 'the King our Maſter, as to forbear repreſenting thither the extremities 'wherein we are, whether we have the credit to be believed or no; and 'that we write Truth, and moſt needful Truth, will be found true, 'when perhaps we ſhall periſh; and which is more conſiderable, the

'Kingdom

'Kingdom alſo for want of being relieved and ſuccoured in time. And 1641.
'ſo we remain,

Your Lordſhip's to be commanded,

William Parſons, *John Borlacy,*

Ormonde Oſſory, *Robert Dillon,*
Char. Lambert. *Adam Loftus,*
John Temple, *Charles Coot.*
Francis Willoughby. *Rob. Meredith.*

From his Majeſty's Caſtle of *Dublin*, 14 *December*, 1641.

POSTSCRIPT.

BY our Letters to your Lordſhip of the 22*d of* November, *We did deſire to be informed from thence, whether the Parliament here being once prorogued, may not again be prorogued by Proclamation before they ſit, or whether it be of neceſſity that they muſt ſit again, and the Parliament to be prorogued the Houſe ſitting. And now that this Rebellion hath over-ſpread the whole Kingdom, and that many members of both Houſes are involved therein, ſo as the Parliament cannot ſit; We humbly deſire to know his Majeſty's pleaſure therein, and if his Majeſty ſhall think fit to prorogue it, which at preſent we hold expedient, that then we may receive his commandment for Prorogation, and that the doubt concerning that be clear'd; for to aſſemble at that time, cannot be with ſafety.*

Our Letters of the third of December, *have been hitherto with-held on this ſide by contrary Winds.*

In this moſt miſerable condition, the Lords Juſtices and Council continued ſhut up within the City of *Dublin*, ſtrugling with all their power for a ſhort preſervation from thoſe diſmal calamities which had generally overſpread the whole Kingdom: Their care, travel, and endeavours, had hitherto in ſome meaſure extended to the moſt remote parts; how they might aſſwage the ſwelling diſtempers, or yield ſome relief to the lamentable complaints and bitter out-cries daily brought up unto them. But now the evils abroad were grown paſt their cure; and their own dangers ſo multiplyed, as they were enforced to ſpend their time almoſt in

1641. in a perpetual conſultation, never at reſt, ſometimes raiſed in the night by ſudden advertiſements, always in conſtant perplexity and trouble, deſperately threatned on every ſide, ſo as what through treachery within or from without, they had juſt reaſon to apprehend the loſs of the City and Caſtle wherein they had encloſed themſelves, and ſo conſequently the ruin and deſtruction of all the *Britiſh* and Proteſtants throughout all other parts of the Kingdom. And thus they continued until the moſt happy and welcome arrival of that truly valiant Gentleman and gallant Commander Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who being deſigned Governour of the City of *Dublin*, was diſpatched away by ſpecial order of Parliament with his Regiment for the preſervation of that place, and landed here on the laſt of *December*, 1641. to the great joy and comfort of all his Majeſty's Proteſtants, and well affected Subjects, and to the terrour of thoſe Rebels now in Arms, who had made themſelves believe that no Succours would be ſent out of *England* towards the ſuppreſſing of their notorious Rebellion.

The arrival of Sir *Simon Harcourt* with Forces out of *England*.

And now my intentions were to have proceeded further on in ſetting down what hath fallen out within the next four Months, and then to have added a brief account of all ſuch particular paſſages as have been acted during the ſpace of thoſe ſix Months within all the ſeveral Counties of this Kingdom, and ſo having recollected and preſented as it were at one view the publick calamities and miſerable deſolations of all the four Provinces there, to have ſat down and made the firſt period of this Story.

But I muſt here take up, being unexpectedly called away; I reſolve therefore patiently to attend the reſtoring of this Kingdom and the reſettlement of our Affairs; and then if I find not this work undertaken and perfected by ſome more skilful hand, I ſhall hope to get the reſt of my tailing together, and make ſuch further proviſion of all other materials as may enable me to go through with the ſame.

In the mean time it will not be amiſs to take Notice, that the Rebels within very few Months after their firſt breaking out, had ſo ordered their affairs, as that by their ſudden ſurpriſes, their ſharp and bloody executions, their barbarous ſtripping, and deſpoiling of all ſorts that fell into their hands, they had cleared the Inland Counties of all the *Britiſh* Inhabitants: And except ſome few Caſtles and other places of ſtrength which they held ſeverally beſieged, and had moſt of them ſuddenly after ſurrendered for want of relief, they had in a manner made themſelves abſolute Maſters in all thoſe parts of the Kingdom. And for the maritime places, there were only ſome of the chief Cities which were held out againſt them, beſides ſome few other forts and places of no great importance: As in the Province of *Leinſter*, the City of *Dublin*; and in the Province of *Munſter*, the Cities of *Cork*, *Youghall*, and *Kinſale*; in *Ulſter*, *London-Derry*, *Colraine* and *Caregfergus*: And all theſe they held either beſieged, much diſtreſſed,

diſtreſſed, or they were otherways ſo over-peſtred with the multitudes of poor ſtripped people fled to them for ſafety, as they were confident they could not long hold out, but that either open force, treachery, famine, or ſickneſs would within a ſhort time inevitably put them into their hands. 1641.

Thus it pleaſed God to humble his own people in this Land, and for their ſins to give them up into the power of their cruel Enemies, who began now to ſacrifice to their own nets, to celebrate the memory of their Victories: And upon the proſperity of their undertakings and late ſucceſs, they were become ſo confident of prevailing even to the total extirpation of all the *Britiſh* and Proteſtants out of this Kingdom, as they proceeded to ſet down a certain form of Government, nominated the perſons whom they intended to entruſt with the management of their affairs, what Laws they would have revoked, what Statutes newly enacted: And in the mean time they erected a Council, which they ſtiled the Supreme Council, which they inveſted with abſolute Power and Authority to order and govern the whole Kingdom.

This conſiſted of certain Noblemen, Gentlemen, three or four Lawyers, and one Phyſician, who being elected unto this charge, had the place of their reſidence appointed unto them at *Kilkenny*, a City in the Province of *Leinſter*, where they ſat ordinarily for the diſpatch of all the great and weighty affairs of their State: They there erected ſeveral Courts of Judicature, they made a new broad Seal, appointed ſeveral great Officers of State, coyned money, ſettled an exciſe upon all kind of commodities, and performed many other acts of Regal power.

Now how they proceeded on in the ordering theſe their great affairs, what Councils they took, what means they uſed to enable themſelves to make oppoſition againſt the Forces ſent over by the Parliament of *England* into all the four Provinces of *Ireland*, I ſhall here forbear to ſpeak of. Theſe particulars muſt be reſerved for the enſuing part of this Story, where they will moſt properly fall in to be related: And where likewiſe, we ſhall find ſo ſtrange a turn, ſuch a remarkable declination of their power, their hearts failing them for fear, their Councils infatuated, their deſigns blaſted, their Forces routed, their ſieges raiſed, ſuch a general defailance and inproſperity in all their undertakings, as we muſt needs give glory to our Maker, and acknowledge that God hath moſt wonderfully wrought for the deliverance of the poor ſmall remnant of his people, which were here ſhut up and deſigned to the ſlaughter.

For after a conſiderable number of Horſe as well as Foot ſent over by the Parliament of *England* arrived at *Dublin*, and had in ſome petty encounters thereabouts tried the metal of the Rebels, and found their ſpirits of a poor and baſe allay, they began extremely to diſvalue them, and would be no longer abuſed with the fabulous reports of their great

1641. ſtrength or numbers, which with much advantage they had long made uſe of: Therefore now they began to ſeek them out in all places, and whereſoever they came to meet with them, they always prevailed even with ſmall numbers very often againſt great multitudes of them, ſparing not many times to purſue them into the midſt of their greateſt faſtneſſes, and made the very Bogs and Woods unſafe receptacles for their broken Troops. And with ſo great ſucceſs was the War proſecuted by the *Engliſh* from the firſt landing of their Forces out of *England* until the Treaty of that moſt unhappy Ceſſation concluded in *Sept.* 1643. as that in all the Encounters they had with the Rebels during that time, they never received any ſcorn or defeats, but went on victoriouſly, beating them down in all parts of the Kingdom: And ſo they carried on their work before them without any aſſiſtance either from the meer *Iriſh* or the *Engliſh-Iriſh*: For I cannot my ſelf remember any Gentleman of Quality throughout the whole Kingdom that was there born and bred up a *Papiſt*, that put himſelf into that ſervice, or deſired to be liſted as a member of the *Engliſh* Army. It is true, ſome of the common Soldiers there, were of the *Engliſh-Iriſh* that came in; and though they were not conſiderable for their number, yet they did good ſervice, and ſtill with much fury and ſharpneſs followed on upon the Execution.

FINIS.

A LETTER OF Sir *Henry Tichborne* TO HIS LADY, OF THE Siege of *Tredagh*; AND Other Paſſages of the WARS of *Ireland*, where he Commanded.

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1641.

A LETTER OF Sir *Henry Tichborne*,

To his Lady of the Siege of *Tredagh*; and other Paſſages of the Wars of *IRELAND* where he Commanded.

My Dearly Beloved,

IT is not Fame, Report, nor Teſtimony of others, but your own Eyes have ſeen and beheld the Wonderful Mercies of God, and in your ſelf experimented many Deliverances from Violence, Death, and Famine: Neither need I put you in mind, or exhort you to a Daily Thankful Commemoration of theſe Bleſſings; for I know your Piety, continual Practice, and ſincerity of Heart, are full and perfect Motives to lead you unto it. Yet not knowing whether I may have time to Breath my laſt Deſires and Affections in your Ears, I have left this Paper as a Witneſs of them, wherein I exhort you to bear all Croſſes and Calamities that may befal you with Prudence, conſtancy of Mind, and a religious Reſpect, remembring that there is nothing befalls us, but that which is prediſpoſed by the Almighty Maker of all Things, and that to our everlaſting Good and Glory, if we make a right uſe and benefit of it. Be not ſparing of God's Bleſſings to communicate with the Needy, when God gives them; *for with ſuch ſacrifices God is well pleaſed*; and you will find that the *Oyl* in the

1641. the *Cruiſe*, and the *Meal* in the *Barrel*, will not be waſted until theſe Days of Calamity are paſſed over, and that God hath reſtored you to your former Plenty. There is much due unto me, and peradventure you and your Children may live in calmer and more proſperous Seaſons to partake of it. My Papers I have left with you, and becauſe you cannot remember, nor are Privy to every Circumſtance, that may plead for ſome Regard towards you, in relation to my Carriage and the Diſcharge of my Duty, in the various Occurrences of theſe late Years; I ſhall in theſe enſuing Lines ſet you down many of thoſe Things, wherein God hath bleſſed me with wonderful Deliverance, and uſed my Weakneſs as an Inſtrument to manifeſt his mighty Power.

The 23d of *October*, 1641, (as you may remember) I was living at *Donſoghly* within four Miles of *Dublin*; and upon the general Terrour which was in the Country, when all *Engliſh* and Proteſtants forſook their Habitations, and fled from the Face of that horrid Rebellion, I thought it not ſafe to remain alone behind them; but when, in the Evening of the next Day, I had ſcattered a Party of Rogues that lay lurking about my Houſe, I retired with you and my Family the ſame Night to *Dublin*. The Day following the Lord Juſtices and Council ſent for me before them, and after ſome Debate of the Condition of the Time, and the quickeſt Way to prevent the growing Danger, it was concluded by the Board, that I ſhould forthwith raiſe a Regiment of One Thouſand Soldiers, and march with all Expedition unto *Drogheda*; daily News of Danger and eminent Peril arriving from thence, with the ſuſpected Faith of the Inhabitants. *October* 26 early in the Morning, I began my Levy, and uſing great Diligence, with continual Pains and Travel, I completed, armed, and led my Regiment to *Drogheda* within the ſpace of Nine Days, where I enter'd very ſeaſonably the fourth of *November*.

At *Drogheda* I met many ſtrange Reports of the Rebels Number and Advance, and theſe Reports were daily ſtrengthned with falſe Intelligence by ſome that were employ'd in the Service, being in Truth no other than Rebels in their Hearts and Affections, as afterward plainly appear'd by their flying from our Party, and ſiding with the Rebels: Others that were new come, and Strangers in theſe Parts, though truſty, could make no full Diſcovery of the Rebels Strength, Approach, or Intention. Twice upon Intelligence I ſent and went forth with a convenient Party to fall on a Quarter of the Rebels, but found my ſelf deluded; and to have left the Town with the whole Forces (as I conceive was the Aim of my Intelligencers) had been in a ſort to put it into the Rebels Hands, the malignant Party being ſtrong and powerful in it, and diſcovering themſelves and their ill Intentions daily more and more; which when I had advertiſed to *Dublin*, the Lords Juſtices appointed Six hundred new levied Men to come

come from thence, who ſetting forth about the ſame time when the *Northern* Rebels drew near unto *Drogheda*, through ſome Miſcarriage on the Way, though they had ſeaſonable Notice to prevent it, yet were they met with by the Rebels, totally routed, and moſt of them loſt. 1641.

This Diſaſter befalling us, the Rebels believed themſelves Maſters of the whole Country, and our Boſom Enemies did no longer diſguiſe themſelves, for the whole Pale that ſeem'd to waver, and in a ſort to deteſt the Rebellion, declared for them, and immediately joyned with the *Northern* Rebels; whereupon enſued the Siege of *Drogheda*, which had not continued long, when I viewing the Proviſion of Victual and the Grain within the Walls, I eaſily obſerved that in a ſhort time we ſhould be diſtreſt for want of Proviſions; and perceiving there was a pretty Quantity of Corn in Stack at *Greenhills*, about half a Mile without the Eaſt-Gate, and that the Rebels were quartered a Mile from it; on a Morning betimes I cauſed Carriages to be prepared, drew the whole Garriſon into Arms, and diſpoſing two hundred Foot and a Troop of Horſe unto the Conduct of Serjeant Major *Lovell*, with Inſtruction to iſſue forth at one Gate; I took the like number of Horſe and Foot, and went ſuddenly forth at the Gate that led directly unto the Place; and before I was advanced a little above half way I met an *Iriſh* Woman that lived without the Walls, who told me, that part of the *Iriſh* Army, at leaſt three thouſand were marching toward me, a thing I little credited, becauſe I had ſent forth Scouts, and a Lieutenant of Foot with thirty Musketeers to poſſeſs a Ground of Advantage before me. But I was little farther advanc'd, when the Scouts return'd full of Fear, and the Lieutenant with his Musketeers in great Amazement, blowing, ſweating, and imprudently, before he came cloſe unto me, declared in the Audience of all the Soldiers, that there were at leaſt four thouſand of the Enemy hard at hand, and that we were in danger to be encloſed of them coming ſeveral Ways. 'Nothing is more dangerous than Reports of this 'Nature, in the hearing of the Soldiers, which of what Condition ſoever, 'ſhould always be privately delivered to the Commander. And thus far I did experiment it at this time, that the Lieutenant's timorous Report, drove ſome, both Horſe and Foot, to forſake me, and ſeek their Safety within the Walls, and had almoſt wrought a general Terror. But I told them, conſidering the Ground, we were ſtrong enough to oppoſe ten thouſand; and that they ought not to be diſmayed, for the Lieutenant ſurpriz'd with Fear had augmented the Enemies Number, and blinded him ſo much, that he could not diſtinguiſh between the Enemy and our own Forces, thoſe being no other than our own whom he ſaw coming behind us another Way, and were appointed by me to be our Seconds. With much ado, this Perſwaſion re-aſſur'd the Soldiers, and cauſed them to ſtand, and for the more ſafety I ſent into the Town for ſome Troops I had left in Arms

1641. Arms on the Market Place: But before the Soldiers were confirm'd, and fully prepar'd to oppoſe the Rebels, they came upon us with a great Shout, and gave Fire: At the ſecond Firing our Men anſwered them in the like kind; and in the midſt of the Smoak, I call'd out aloud, *They run, They run*; which took the deſired effect, was believed by thoſe in the Rear, and ſeconded by them all with the like Cry: And though it appeared ſomething otherwiſe upon the clearing up of the Smoak, and after a Charge, that the Rebels gave thick Fire out of an Ambuſh, yet our Musketeers on the higher Bank ſet bravely forward, when they ſaw me alighted from my Horſe to partake in ſuch Adventure as ſhould befal them; and the Rebels, who were ſtaggered with the former Cry, betook themſelves to their Heels in general. Our Men had the Execution of them about three Quarters of a Mile, the reſt of their Army looking on us at a Diſtance, as they were drawing together to make reſiſtance: And when I perceived all the Rebels in Arms, I retreated in an orderly way, and ſaw all the Soldiers in ſafety within the Gates before me. Of the Rebels there were about two hundred ſlain, a Prieſt and three Captains, and one of the *O'Neals* that was Serjeant-Major General of their *Northern* Army: Of our Men four only hurt, and two Horſes ſhot in this Service; for God fought for us, and from this time forth ſo diſmayed the Rebels, that afterwards they never ſtood before us.

On St. *Thomas*'s Eve, at One of the Clock at Night, the Rebels came to aſſault the Town, and fell on with a great Shout; but we were prepar'd for them, and gave them ſuch Entertainment as belonged to unwelcome Gueſts, whereby they loſt many, and toward the Morning withdrew to their Quarters. On *New-year*'s Day, early in the Morning, I ſent forth a Party which kill'd ſome of the Rebels, burnt their Quarter, and retreated with the loſs of but one Man.

The 7th of *January*, a little before Day, I drew forth three Troops, conſiſting of eighty good Horſe or thereabouts, with three hundred choice Foot, in two Bodies, and a Forlorn of fifty Musketeers to fall on the Rebels Quarter at *Ramullan* without St. *John*'s Port; where, after a little Reſiſtance, their Barricadoes and Breaſt-works were forced, their Quarter enter'd, an hundred of them at the leaſt ſlain upon the Place, many driven by Heaps into the River and drowned, and amongſt thoſe one *Art Roe Mac Mahon*, a prime Man, and much lamented by them; And whilſt we were in purſuit, and firing the Quarter, a full Body of the Rebels (the Day being now broken) appeared from *Platten* and other Places, marching towards us; theſe I thought fit to meet and charge with my reſerve, whilſt the Soldiers were drawing off, and retiring from the former Chace, and by God's Singular Bleſſing (to whoſe glorious working all theſe Actions are to be wholly aſcribed) we ſuddenly routed them, and kill'd

kill'd above forty on the Place, not adventuring to purſue them far, be- 1641.
cauſe the Rebels were numerous, and gotten into Arms throughout all their Quarters. The Soldiers brought off many Muskets and Corſlets, a few Cows, and ſome other Plunder.

The Rebels failing of other Hopes, labour'd to ſtop the Channel, and hinder our relief by Water; but God diſappointed them, and opened the Way unto us, for the 11th of *January*, our Shipping came from the *Skerrys* in one Tide to the Key; a rare matter, and hardly known in the memory of Man. That Night I exhorted the Officers to be very vigilant on their Guards, becauſe the Rebels might conceive us joyful and ſecure upon our received relief; and I could not go that Night abroad according to my cuſtom, in regard I had ſeveral Diſpatches to make to *Dublin*; and the Shipping were the next Day to return in caſe the Wind favour'd them, which I would in no ſort be a hindrance unto. How my orders were obſerved or neglected I will not mention, but about four of the Clock the next Morning, as I was buſily writing, I heard three Muskets go off, and ſoon after two others; and, as I apprehended, (notwithſtanding the ſtormy Weather) a kind of muttering Noiſe; whereupon I ſtarted from the Table, ſnatch'd up my Piſtols, and call'd to thoſe about me to follow me with ſpeed, for I believ'd that the Rebels were gotten into the Town: And coming forth of Doors, I called unto a Court of Guard that was on the Town Wall near my Lodging, and willed them to increaſe the Alarm, and give Fire athwart the River, becauſe I believed the Rebels to be enter'd on that ſide the Key; and then running with all ſpeed towards the Bridge, when I was about half way, the Rebels gave a great Shout. At the foot of the Bridge I found a Guard of my own Company ſettling themſelves to their Arms; thoſe I drew forth, and placed to maintain the Bridge until I ſhould inſtantly return unto them: And then making haſte to the Main-Guard, I found not there that Vigilancy I expected; but encreaſing the Alarm, with ſuch ſmall Strength as I could ſuddenly gather, I return'd and found my Enſign newly engag'd with the Rebels at the end of the Bridge; him I relieved, and God proſper'd us ſo well, with the Concourſe of Officers and Soldiers, that finally we ſcattered them, and had the killing of many, and took above fifty Priſoners. God's Workings are wonderful, and oftentimes, eſpecially in Matters of War, produces great Effects out of ſmall and contemptible Means: This Night my Man following of me haſtily with my Horſe out of my Lodging, the Horſe being unruly at the beſt, ſuddenly broke looſe, and made ſuch a Noiſe in running and galloping madly upon the Stones in the dark Streets, it put the Rebels to a ſtand, believing we were better prepar'd to welcome them than in Truth we were, and thereby afforded us ſomething the more leiſure to entertain them, as by God's Bleſſing we did.

1641. The 7th of *February* I made a Sally on the *North*-ſide of the Town, fir'd two or three of their Lodgings, and recovered a little Forage and Proviſion to refreſh us a few Days: The Rebels drew forth from *Bewly* their Head Quarters, with a Body of five hundred or thereabouts, but upon my Advance with the like number, and Skirmiſhing with them in their faſtneſs, they retreated with a little Loſs, which greatly emboldened our Soldiers for future Services, who received no loſs at all. That Night I ſent forth a Party of Musketiers to fall on a Court of Guard of the Rebels, which they effected with the ſlaughter of the Centinels and ſome others. *February* the 11th in the afternoon, upon Intelligence that the Rebels had removed from one of their Quarters, and left it void for the Lodging of others that were to arrive that Day out of the *North*, I thought it a fit Opportunity to iſſue ſuddenly out of the Town, with intent to recover part of their Proviſions, and to fire the reſt, that could not be brought away, together with their Quarter; and to that end, I drew forth a Party of five hundred to Confront the Rebels Head Quarter at *Bewly*, and ſent Lieutenant *Greenham*, a Reſolute Commander, with ſixty Musketeers, and thirty Horſe under the Conduct of Cornet *Conſtable*, to Guard thoſe that were directed to ſpoil the Quarter; who coming thither, and finding the Place empty, ſome of the Foot, at leaſt twenty, with part of the Horſe, lading themſelves with Sheaves of Corn, and ſuch other Things as they met with, returned homewards; when ſuddenly there appeared before the remainder of the Horſe and Foot a Body of four hundred Rebels, come forth of the *North* to poſſeſs that Quarter; whereupon they retreated a little, and drew themſelves into good Order. About that Inſtant I had with ſeven or eight Horſe in my Company left the Body of five hundred confronting *Bewly*, and being on my way towards them, I received the News of the Rebels approach: Forthwith I ſent Direction for One hundred and fifty Soldiers to be drawn quietly out of the Body, and to follow me. The Advertiſement of this being deliver'd to Lieutenant *Greenham*, with my Approach, I being then come in ſight of him, cauſed him without delay to fall on the Rebels; and I commanded Cornet *Conſtable* to do the like with the Horſe, keeping by me a Reſerve of ten Horſe to ſecond him, if Occaſion were: For things being come to that Pinch, admitted no Debate, but a ſpeedy Hazard. The Rebels terrify'd and amaz'd with this ſudden and unexpected Aſſault, were ſoon routed by this Party alone, before the others I had appointed for their aſſiſtance were come up to them. There were ſlain of the Rebels ſeventy three, with Captain *Owen*, a Follower of the Earl of *Tyrone* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, a Lieutenant and an Enſign. There were taken two Colours, one Enſign, three Serjeants, nine Priſoners. One of them that appeared a Man of Note, died the ſame Night of his Wounds.

Two

Two Days after (for now we were ever in Action) upon Notice of a Prey that might with ſome Hazard be probably gained, I ſent forth Captain *Patrick Trevor* on *Sunday* Morning, a little before Day, and marched after him my ſelf with another Party, to relieve and bring him off as Occaſion ſhould ſerve: He behaved himſelf ſo well, that he took the Prey of Eighty Cows and about two hundred Sheep; and though the Rebels on both Hands beſtowed many Shot and Shouts upon us, yet we receiv'd no loſs or conſiderable Hurt, but came in Time to ſerve and praiſe God in the Congregation that Morning. 1641.

On *Sunday* the 21ſt of *February*, about Four of the Clock in the Morning, Sir *Phelim O Neal* attempted the Town with Scaling Ladders, and had raiſed ſeveral againſt the Wall with much Silence, hoping to make his Entry on the back of my Lodging, where the Wall was loweſt: But the Centinel diſcerning One of them mounted on the Top of the Ladder, ready to ſurprize him, knockt him down with the Butt-end of his Musket, and called out to the Coutt of Guard, who iſſuing ſuddenly forth, eaſily repelled the reſt, inſomuch that they left Thirteen of their Scaling Ladders behind them; and being well ply'd with Shot from the Walls, divers were hurt and ſlain, as a Boy reported who was Drummer to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and had made his Eſcape from him that Morning. About Noon the ſame Day, we received another Relief of Men and Victuals that arrived wonderfully in one Tide, as the former had done, by God's ſingular Providence.

The 27th of *February*, deſirous to repair a ſmall Loſs, I had received of Boys and Women that went a Foraging to *Bewbeck*, I iſſued forth to the ſame Place with two new Companies lately come from *Dublin*, Fifty Musketeers of the old Garriſon, and One Hundred and Twenty Horſe in Four Troops; and poſſeſs'd the ſame Ground where the Party ſtood that I had ſent forth eight Days before, for the Guard of the Foragers: And after I had directed the Foragers that went with me, how to demean themſelves on the Rebels Approach, and appointed the Pioneers to bury the Dead, I ſpent much of the Day there before the Corn was brought quite away into the Town. The Rebels drew forth into a Body of five or ſix hundred, under five Colours, right againſt me, at a pretty Diſtance; and another Body of two or three hundred on my right Hand, keeping the ſame Diſtance: Whoſe Motion, when I had long attended in vain, and the Evening growing faſt, I turned on my Left Hand towards the Way that led to *Dublin*, where the Rebels held an uſual Guard, and which I intended to viſit; but my Scouts were ſent forth on all Sides to obſerve the Rebels Motion. I had not marched much more than a Musket Shot when my Scouts came poſting in, and aſſur'd me, that the Rebels were advancing toward me in great haſte, and that there was but

1641. the Ridge of an Hill between them and us: I presently order'd my Men, as I conceived, for the best Advantage; sent immediately into the Town for seconds, if need should require; and because most of my Foot were New-comers, I told them briefly as the shortness of the Time would give me Leave, that I was glad of this Occasion, wherein they that were lately come should have the Experience of such Adventures, as we who were formerly here had often tried, and, by God's continual blessing us, beaten the Rebels on greater Disadvantages than now appeared. I besought them only to be courageous; for if there were a fainting among them, I would rather endeavour (and I doubted not to do it) to draw them from the Trial in Safety, than expose them to imminent Danger. The Soldiers gave a chearful Answer of Resolution and Readiness to meet the Rebels, and march'd fiercely towards them; which taken Notice of by the Rebels, by such time as we were gotten to the Ridge of the Hill, they were sunk down again almost to the Foot of it, where were many Rows of great Furze fit to cover an Ambush, and at first I apprehended that might be their Purpose of Retreat, to draw me into unexpected Danger: But when I had beheld them a little while, and observed their Motion, and discerned them in some Disorder, and that their Officers were beating them with their Swords to force them forwards; I found the Time fit for my Purpose, and called to hasten the Charge, for the Rebels were dismayed, and running before we came at them: And to make my Words good, they made few Shot before they totally disbanded, and every Man shifted for himself. I caused a Party of Horse to meet them at the Bridge of *Gilliansiown*, near the Place where our Six Hundred Men, sent at first to assist us, were unhappily defeated; and there, in the same Field and about it, Three Hundred and upward of the Rebels were slain, and Two Colours taken.

The first of *March*, I sent forth Sir *John Borlace* with four Companies of Foot, and one Troop of Horse, to forage the *South*-Side of the River towards *Colpe*, from whence a good quantity of Corn was brought into the Garrison: And in the Afternoon I took two other Companies of Foot and a Troop of Horse, accompany'd with the Lord *Moore*; and as we were advancing something farther toward the *Inche*, there came a Messenger hastily unto me, and told me, that Sir *John Borlace* met with some Resistance at *Colpe*, at an old Tower, which he attempted to take; and that many of the Rebels were come from the *North*-Side of the River in a Ferry-Boat, and enter'd into *Stamine*, whereby it was suppos'd they would attempt something against those that were before *Colpe*. On this Advertisement my Lord *Moore* and my self returned, and finding no Appearance of the Rebels Intention to do any thing, the Evening being come on, I prepared to march home: And leaving the Lord *Moore*,

I went

I went towards Sir *John Borlace* before *Colpe*, where by the Way I was advertis'd that the Rebels were ſally'd out of *Stamine* with two hundred Foot, to ſurprize thoſe before *Colpe*; I inſtantly directed Captain *Billingſly* to take Eighty Musketeers, and fall up to the Side of the Way, where there was the Advantage of a Ditch; and with ſuch Horſe as were with me, I made directly to an opener Place, though ſomewhat about; and by that Time I came in Sight of the Rebels, Captain *Billingſly* and they were exchanging ſome Shot; but upon the Approach of the Horſe coming on with a round Charge, the Rebels fled again into *Stamine*, and by the Way there was ſlain of them a Lieutenant, thirteen Soldiers, and a Captain of the *O Neals* wounded and taken Priſoner; and if my Horſe had not been bog'd with ſome others, being ignorant of the Ways, I believe many more had been ſlain, and the Place taken the ſame Night, with many of their Commanders in it, who ſtole away before the next Morning to the other ſide of the River with Sir *Phelim O Neal*, who during the Conflict was fled, crept, and hid in a Furze-buſh, as I was afterwards inform'd: And thus the *South*-ſide of the River was wholly clear'd of the Rebels, and Plenty of Corn and Food began to be amongſt us. 1641.

The ſeveral happy Succeſſes againſt the Rebels ſtirred the Lord *Moore* and other Officers of Quality, to crave that they might have competent Forces aſſign'd them to fall on the Rebels Quarter at *Tullahallen*; which I readily aſſented to, and cauſed Four Hundred Foot and moſt of the Horſe, to be in a Readineſs to iſſue forth under the Lord *Moore's* Command: Which was no ſooner done, but that I immediately cauſed three hundred Foot and fifteen Horſe remaining behind, to march forth under my own Leading after them; for I conſider'd that the Rebels Head Quarter was at *Bewly*, that they had another Quarter at *Carſtown* and *Carlington*; all which might with Convenience fall in the Rear of the Lord *Moore*, and give aſſiſtance to their Partners at *Tullahallen*: And as I ſuppoſed, by that time I was come near unto *Kilanure*, I could diſcern the Rebels all upon their March; but they perceiving my Strength, which were ſo placed, that at a Diſtance they appear'd double the Number, ſtood ſtill at a Gaze, and went no farther: Until within a ſhort Time, News came to me of the proſperous ſucceſs of the Lord *Moore*, who with the other Officers behaved themſelves with ſuch Valour and Courage, that they forc'd the Rebels from a Place of Advantage which they had betaken themſelves unto, and kill'd four Hundred upon the Place, with ſeven Captains, and *Art Roe Mac Mahon* taken Priſoner, whoſe Head was valued in the Proclamation to the taker or bringer in of him at Four Hundred Pound; and ſeveral others comprehended in the Proclamation, were ſlain or taken by us without note or recompence. I finding the work done,

1641. done without need of my aſſiſtance, turn'd my ſelf with the Party that I led, towards thoſe Rebels that ſhew'd themſelves imbodied at a diſtance, but I found they had no mind to engage; whereupon I burnt *Newtown* and other of their Lodgings, and ſo returned into the Town.

The Evening after this Days glorious Work wherein God, as in former Times, ſent us great Deliverance, the Rebels abandoned their Head Quarter at *Bewly*, and the Villages adjoyning unto it, and march'd ſecretly away to *Dundalk*, whereof I had ſpeedy Notice, and ſent forth a Party the ſame Night to poſſeſs *Bewly*, and to remain in Garriſon in it, thereby preventing the Rebels, who repenting of their ſudden Departure, within leſs than an Hour after my Men were enter'd, returned thither to repoſſeſs the Place; but finding unexpected Oppoſition, forſook the Attempt with the loſs of two of their Men. The next Morning I rounded the Country two or three Miles about, ſaw many Rebels on Hills and Places afar off, but as I made towards them they always avoided me. The Country was left full of Corn, and ſtored with Cattle, which afforded us plentiful Relief. A few Days after I ſummoned *Platten*, a ſtrong Caſtle Garriſoned by the Rebels, within two Miles of *Drogheda*, but was not liſtned unto: Yet three Days after I returned thither ſtronger and better prepared to force them, than I was at the firſt; and finally, I receiv'd it on Compoſition, that the Garriſon ſhould depart unarmed, and carry away ſome few Goods and Proviſions with them. Before the ſurrender of this Place the Marquis of *Ormonde* was march'd forth of *Dublin*, to come to our Relief; and though he were advertiſed by the way, of God's Bleſſings upon us, yet he came forwards to Rejoyce with us in our Deliverance, and to ſee the State of Affairs among us, with Intention to Proſecute the *Northern* Rebels until they were utterly Deſtroyed: But the State conceiving it too hazardous, withcalled him from the Enterprize, and ſent me likewiſe Direction to Adventure no farther Abroad than ſo as I might return the ſame Day, and Lodge in ſafety within the Walls. My Lord returned as he was required, and I by my Letters beſought the Council to withdraw their ſtrict Limitation, in caſe they expected Action from me, and conceived me capable after ſo many trials and hazards to do them Service. Upon this I was left again to my own way of Proceeding, with a grave and ſound Advice to be vigilant and careful in all my undertakings. The day following, early in the Morning, I march'd forth accompany'd with the Lord *Moore*, and a competent ſtrength of Horſe and Foot, unto *Barnwell's* of *Rahaskers* Houſe, and found him not dreſt, miſdoubting no Viſitation of that kind: A little reſiſtance I found, but after a while he was contented to ſurrender, on Promiſe that he might be a Priſoner left unto the Law, and not preſently put to Death; for this *Barnwell* had ſerved beyond Seas, was a Colonel amongſt the Rebels, and on whoſe Head was

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ſet four hundred Pound as a Recompence for any that brought him in dead or alive. That Day, as I returned, I burnt ſome Villages, took a large Prey in Cattle and Sheep, to the great Satisfaction of the Soldiers, who now fed plentifully after their long Penury and Want. 1641.

At this time there was a great rumour that the Rebels would return to the Siege of *Drogheda*, and that *O Reily* with his *Cavan* Forces, conſiſting of two thouſand Men, were that Night to be lodged at *Slane* within five Miles of us. This Intelligence was delivered me about Nine of the Clock in the Morning, and whether framed by the Rebels to terrify me, or really believed by the Reporter, I know not; but I, that I might not loſe the Advantage of time, cauſed five hundred Foot, with all the Horſe, to be inſtantly in Arms, and accompany'd with the Lord *Moore*, I march'd unto the Place, enter'd the Town, took the Caſtle, which the Soldiers pillaged, and fired the Houſes, that it might remain no future ſhelter for the Rebels. Three Days after, being ſtill Alarm'd with the Rebels Forces, which were fam'd to be many, and lodged at *Atherdee*, eight Miles from *Drogheda*; and I, being deſirous to underſtand the certainty of their ſtrength and condition, which in regard of the Infidelity of divers Natives which I employed for Intelligence (wanting better) I could not readily obtain, I drew forth twelve hundred Foot and four Troops of Horſe, intending to diſcover it my ſelf; and the 21ſt of *March*, with two Days Proviſion of Victual, meaning within that ſpace to return, I marched to *Slane*, and reduced that Caſtle, which the Rebels had again repoſſeſt, and did ſome other things there which were formerly left imperfect. The ſame Night I went two or three Miles farther to lodge in a place of ſome ſtrength four or five Miles ſideways from *Atherdee*. The Rebels appeared in Cluſters on ſeveral Hills about me, but their Footmanſhip or Vigilance failed them, for the Horſe I ſent forth ſurprized and overtook many of them, putting them to the Sword before they could recover a place of Safety.

The next Morning I ſet forward on my firſt Deſign, with intention only to diſcover the Enemies ſtrength, and not to advance my Body of Foot nearer than within two Miles of *Atherdee*, that I might ſecure my Forces upon the Paſſes, and other Places of Advantage, in caſe I found the Rebels, as was reported (though I could hardly believe it) much too ſtrong to be dealt with: But my Scouts gone forth, and alſo a Party of Horſe with thirty Musketeers to ſecure a Paſs; after a March of two Miles they diſcovered the Rebels from the Top of a ſteep Hill, in two Diviſions, in the Valley beneath, conſiſting, as they ſuppoſed, of two thouſand five hundred Foot, and a Body of Horſe near unto them. Upon this Advertiſement I order'd one hundred and twenty choice Musketeers to be drawn forth, and to follow me with Speed, and joyn with the thirty Muske-

1641. Musketeers which were before them; and that the reſt of the Foot ſhould advance after them a moderate Pace. I took all the Horſe with me, and went to the Top of an Hill where I had a full ſight of the Rebels, whoſe Foot were not leſs than two thouſand, as was afterwards confeſt by ſome of themſelves. Their Horſe appear'd in Sight to be fewer than ours, tho' there was preſent Sir *Phelim O Neal*, the Lord of *Louth*, and divers of the Nobility and prime Gentry of the *Pale*, with many chief Commanders of the *Northern* Rebels. I conſider'd their Number and Order, and apprehending a fair Poſſibility of routing them, commanded the Horſe to follow me down the Hill: The Officers at firſt conceived ſome danger in it, but when I ſhewed them it was obſervable that the Rebels were Irreſolute in their Purpoſes, and that upon the Sight of us they had not advanced one Foot forward, tho' in regard of the Ground before us, they might have done it with Advantage to themſelves, in caſe that they had reſolved meaning to engage us; and that when we were down the Hill we could not be prejudiced by them, except by ſome Shot at Random; and if the Rebels ſhould retire, we had fit Ground and Opportunity to charge them; if they abode, I doubted not by God's Aſſiſtance to do it with Safety when the Foot were come up to us. Hereupon we went down the Hill, and by this time the one hundred and fifty Musketeers I had order'd to follow me a ſwift Pace, were come up to me; I took of them a ſmall Party, and cauſed them to give Fire upon a Hedge and Ditch that was near a Musket ſhot right before one of the Rebels Diviſions of Foot, miſtruſting ſome Ambuſh, which upon the Fire given immediately diſcover'd it ſelf, and began to retire; whereupon I perceived their Diviſions to waver, and incline towards a Retreat; and being loth to loſe the Opportunity, I cauſed my other Musketeers to advance and the Horſe to offer a Charge, which their Horſe intending not to abide, gain'd their Security by ſpeedy flight, and their Foot with little diſpute follow'd after them. Their Horſe abandon'd the Field the ſooner, becauſe they could diſcern that I had ſent forth a Party of Horſe towards the other end of the Town to intercept their Flight, the thing it ſeems they chiefly intended, in caſe they met with any oppoſition. There were ſlain of their Foot ſeveral Officers of Note, and at leaſt ſix hundred private Soldiers.

In Proſecution of this Victory which God had given us, I found a ſtop at the Gate, which the Rebels had cloſed at the end of the Bridge leading into the Town, and from thence plyed us with ſome Shot; but as ſoon as I had drawn a Party of Musketeers to play upon them, I found their Shooting abated inſomuch that I adventured over the Bridge to the Gate, and through the Chinks I ſaw it was barricaded with Stones; but upon the right hand of the Bridge I perceived a Ford, which I return'd unto,

unto, and ordering the Horſe to follow me, I enter'd, and charged thro' the Town, where, at the End without the Gate, the Enemies Horſe appeared to us again, ſtanding in good Order, and, as we conceived, near unto us; but upon the Matter, through the Advantage of a Bog, they were at leaſt half a Mile from us; neither intended they a nearer diſtance, for being moſt of them Men of Quality, and all well mounted, they betook themſelves immediately to their ſpeed, and were purſued by Captain *Marrow* above three Miles in vain. Some ſtragglers were ſnatch'd up, and between ſixty and ſeventy ſlain on the Bog on the other Side of the Town; and many others had run the ſame Fortune, but that moſt of my Foot were buſie in pillaging the Town, and could not be gotten together in convenient Time to proſecute the Service. 1641.

At *Atherdee* I reſted the next Day, being the 24th of *March*, and rode only with a Party of Horſe three or Four Miles farther into the Country; and had a ſight of many Rebels afar off, but met with no Oppoſition from any of them.

That Evening I moved the Lord *Moore* and other chief Officers to give me their Advice touching a Deſire I had of proſecuting this Victory God had given us, as far as *Dundalk*; for it was evident that the Rebels were terrified and amazed through this ſudden and unexpected Overthrow befallen them, and to follow them cloſe wou'd deprive them of preſent Counſel and Aſſurance in the way of Defence. The Lord *Moore* and all the Officers embraced the Motion with much Chearfulneſs, and ſo the next Morning, being *Friday*, I marched unto *Hagardſtown*, a Village ſtrongly ſeated within two little Miles of *Dundalk*, and lodged there that Night.

The next Morning we ſet forwards towards *Dundalk*, and Sir *Phelim O Neal* with his Horſe, ſhewed himſelf without the Gate that was next unto us; and I ſuppoſed he would likewiſe have drawn forth his Foot, to meet us in the Field, becauſe he could have trebled the Strength that was with me: But upon my nearer Approach, Sir *Phelim* perceiving I would not forſake my Advantage through Fear of the Number that were with him, he retired within the Gates, and there attended my coming, giving Fire from the Walls, which continued thick for a while, until the Valour of the Officers and Soldiers brought them under the Walls of the Suburbs, where in ſhort time they forced open the Gate, and enter'd both Horſe and Foot: But the Rebels that had before ſhewed great Stands of Pikes, were almoſt wholly retir'd into the Inner Town, and left a Caſtle well Mann'd in the midſt of the Suburbs, which Caſtle did much annoy us; and it was the Opinion of many, that we had procceded already beyond Expectation, and that we might with honour forſake the Enterprize. But my Deſire was otherwiſe, the rather, becauſe it pleaſed God to ſend a ſudden ſtrong and favourable Wind, which, when I had fired the

1641. the Suburbs, drove the Smoak violently into the Town, greatly annoying the Rebels and furthering my Deſign, inſomuch that under Coverture of the Smoak I made Uſe of my Pioneers with leſs Danger, and by Degrees got cloſe under the Caſtle, and heaped up much combuſtible Stuff againſt the Door and fired it; which cauſed the Defendants to abandon their Arms, and ſhift for themſelves, but little to the Safety of the moſt of them. In the Caſtle I placed ſome Musketeers to give Fire on the Enemy in the Market place; and the Smoak of the Suburbs abating, I could ſee many Rebels, for my greater Encouragement, running forth at the *North*-ſide of the Town; whereupon I ſent Captain *Marrow* with a Party of Horſe towards that Place, and follow'd after him my ſelf with a few Horſe, leaving Direction with Lieutenant Colonel *Biron* to do the like with my Diviſion of Foot. When I came to the ſide, I might ſee Sir *Phelim O Neal* with his Crue on Horſeback, on the top of an Hill on the other ſide the River, too far to be dealt withal; therefore I willed Lieutenant Colonel *Biron* to fall on that Part of the Town where the Wall was low and decay'd, and had little other Defence than a Graff with Water not impaſſable; but on the ſudden I could hear one calling behind me, that *Marrow* was charged by one hundred and twenty Horſe, and diſtreſt: Whereupon I cauſed the Foot to make a Stand, and return'd to the relief of *Marrow*, whom I met ſoon after coming from the Chace of the Rebels, having met with no Oppoſition. This falſe Alarm being over, I purſued my former Purpoſe, and willed the Foot to proceed; and taking Captain *Marrow* and thoſe Horſe with me, I paſſed ſuddenly to the *North*-gate, at which the Rebels run out: The Gate I found open, and many unarm'd People haſtening forth: Thoſe we went regardleſly through, and made up to the Market-place, where I found no reſiſtance, every one having ſhifted for himſelf; only the Musketeers which I placed in the Caſtle in the Suburbs did a little annoy us, miſtaking us for the Enemy, until I made them underſtand the contrary by Signs; and alſo ſending unto the Lord *Moore* and the other Officers, that I was enter'd and poſſeſs'd of the Town.

Afterward I commanded all the Horſe and Foot to march in, and draw up in Order in the Market-place, and I cauſed the Quarter-Maſters to divide the Town into Quarters, proportionable to the Companies of Horſe and Foot; and what Booty was in any Quarter, that I left to the Officers and Soldiers that were Quarter'd in it, by a proportionable dividend amongſt them, whereby the Confuſion and Contention about Pillaging was taken away, and I had the Soldiers in a readineſs to Anſwer the Rebels Motion and Attempts, who rumoured great Words, and ſtill ſwarmed very thick in thoſe Parts: The number of the Slain I looked not after, but there was little Mercy ſhewed in thoſe Times.

When

When the News of this ſucceſs came to *Dublin*, the State apprehend- 1641.
ed that I was engaged into too imminent Danger, and partly ſent me Advice to abandon the Place, which Town being of importance for the Service, I neither thought it fit nor honourable to do, except I received a poſitive Command and Direction to that Purpoſe; for I was Confident to hold it againſt all the Rebels Forces that durſt appear before it: Beſides, I conceived the ten thouſand *Scots* would not be idle when they ſhould hear that I was advanced ſo far *North*-ward, with an handful of Men in compariſon of their Numbers. The Rebels were ſoon grown Numerous again by the Acceſs of ſome *Northern* Forces to their Aid, and lodged in a ſtrong Caſtle towards the *Fews* about four Miles from *Dundalk*; there I faced them ſeveral Days, but they never adventured beyond their Faſtneſs more than once, and that a little way with a Party of Horſe, which I cauſed to be ſoon met with (by God's continual Bleſſing) to their Diſadvantage, and killing a few, (for they had a Bog to Friend) took *Toby Guinne*, a ſpecial Favourite of Sir *Phelim O Neal*, Priſoner: This Man had been bred amongſt us, and marry'd to an *Engliſh* Man's Daughter, but now a Degenerated, Active, and Notorious Rebel; in which Reſpect, notwithſtanding many Promiſes of large Ranſom or Exchanges, I cauſed him to be preſently hanged in the Sight of Sir *Phelim O Neal* and his Battalions.

About this time I had News of the *Scots* coming towards the *Newry*; and the next Day I drew my Foot upon the Strand towards *Carlingford*, that the Rebels Scouts might diſcern them Marching, though I had no Intention to leave *Dundalk* Naked, in the View of Sir *Phelim O Neal* and his Rebel Companions on the other ſide: But taking the Horſe with me, and giving Order to the Foot to return, as ſoon as I was out of ſight, I went ſtreight to *Carlingford*, with Intention to Summon the Place, which I believed upon their Scouts Report of my Foot following after me, would occaſion them to ſurrender on eaſy Conditions; but it appeared their Terror was too great to abide our coming, for drawing near, I ſaw the Town on Fire, and haſtning thither a Party of my Horſe, they overtook a Sea Captain and ſome of his Men in the Street running into the Caſtle, believing us to be of the Rebels, which when they found otherwiſe, it was much to their Contentment. From this Captain I underſtood, that lying with his Ship in the Harbour to attend the *Scots* Motion with Neceſſaries, that that Morning the Town and Caſtle were haſtily Fired by the Inhabitants themſelves, and they all fled into the Mountains; and that an *Engliſh* Woman or two that had eſcaped the general Slaughter, were gotten into the Caſtle, had hindred the Fire in what they could, and wafted him thither, where he came, and found the State of Things to be as I then found them. I wiſh'd him to make the beſt Advantage of

1641. what the Rebels had left behind, and to ſecure the Caſtle with a Guard until I could ſend a Captain of Foot to take it into his Charge, having no other than Horſe with me at that time. This he undertook to do, and performed it accordingly.

Upon my Return the ſame Night, I received a Letter from the Lord *Conway*, inviting me to viſit him and Major-General *Monroe* at the *Newry*, that we might adviſe of a farther Proſecution of the Rebels. The Day following I went thither with two Troops of Horſe and a Troop of Dragoons; and upon Conference I conceived their Intention and Reſolution was, at my parting, to march unto *Ardmagh*, to chaſe the Rebels out of all their Faſtneſſes, and to clear the *North*: But a few Days after I receiv'd another Letter from the Lord *Conway*, that they had deſerted that Deſign for the preſent, and were returning back again, in reſpect their Victuals was ſpent unto five Days.

A while afterwards the *Scots* were earneſt with me to deliver the Caſtle of *Carlingford* into their Hands; which had been a great Weakneſs in me to do, as it was Preſumption in them to deſire, without the Direction of the State.

Sir *Phelim O Neal* and his Partiſans grew very jolly upon the *Scots* return, and perſwaded themſelves of doing great Matters againſt me: But their Courage prov'd to be only in Words, for I drew forth ſome Days together into a convenient Field near unto them; but finding that they did only put themſelves in Arms, and would no more now than formerly forſake their Strength to draw into Equality of Ground, notwithſtanding their Advantage of Numbers, I concluded they were in another ſort to be dealt with; and from thenceforth, for the moſt part, I fell every other Morning into their Quarters, and continued theſe Viſitations for ſeveral Weeks together, with the Slaughter of very many of them, eſpecially the new Plantation in the County of *Monaghan*, and at the taking in of *Harry O Neal*'s Houſe in the *Fews*; inſomuch that by this Courſe, and the like acted often by the Garriſon at *Drogheda*, there was neither Man nor Beaſt to be found in ſixteen Miles between the two Towns of *Drogheda* and *Dundalk*; nor on the other ſide of *Dundalk*, in the County of *Monaghan*, nearer than *Carick-mac-Croſs*, a ſtrong Pile Twelve Miles diſtant.

And notwithſtanding this continual Travel abroad, I went forwards at Home with the Help of the Officers and Soldiers (wherein they cheerfully concurred with me) to raiſe a Parapet on one Side of the Town of *Dundalk*, (that was naked of other Defence than a large Graff with Water) and to repair the Walls on the other Side that were greatly broken. I likewiſe cut off part of the Town to make it more defenſible with a large Ditch and Parapet; and made a Draw-Bridge, and raiſed two Platforms to ſecure the Curtains with three Pieces of Ordnance I had taken from the Rebels:

Rebels: And all this was done without a Peny Charge to the State, or any Allowance ever given me in Conſideration of it. Beſides, I laid in ſixty Tuns of Coals for the Courts of Guard againſt Winter, and gave ſuch Cattle as were due to me for my Share in Recompence of them: This was never by me accounted for. It may be farther remembered, that for the ſpace of ſeven Months and upwards, from the beginning of the Siege of *Drogheda*, I never received but five Weeks Means, all that were under my Command living on ſuch Preys as were forced from the Rebels. The Country and Fields about *Dundalk* were abounding in Corn, which I allotted to the ſeveral Companies, to be reaped by themſelves, towards their preſent Relief and future Subſiſtence. 1641.

About the midſt of *June* I went to *Dublin*, and after a few Days ſtay I returned unto my Charge, proſecuting the Rebels, as I had formerly done. In *Auguſt* I went again to *Dublin*, and ſtaying a ſhort Time there I came back to *Drogheda*, where I remained until the Lord *Liſle* went forth with part of the Army to remove the Rebels from about *Trim*, in which Expedition I waited on his Lordſhip with five hundred choice Foot: And that Service ended by the Rebels firing the Caſtle they poſſeſt, and retreating, and my Lord's taking of *Clone* in the County of *Weſt-meath*, burning the Houſe at *Lough Ramor* and *Virginia*; and taking of *Carrick-mac-Croſs* in the County of *Monaghan*, with great Store of Prey, and Deſtruction of the Rebels.

His Lordſhip return'd, and I attended him unto *Drogheda*, where I remained as in my Place of Settlement; for about this time the Lord *Moore* received a Commiſſion from his Majeſty for the Command of the County of *Louth*, and the Barony of *Slane*; whereupon I ſurrender'd the Garriſon of *Dundalk*, as comprized in that Grant, with ſuch Corn, Hay, and Cattle as was provided for my own ſpending, Eighty Barrels of Herring, three hundred twenty four Barrels of Corn, near ſeventy Tuns of Coals in the Store for the Guards, the Works about the Town repair'd and fortify'd as aforeſaid, without one Peny Charge to the State. And from that time I apply'd my ſelf to the Neceſſities of *Drogheda*, where the former Plenty being now conſumed, and little Relief to be obtain'd from *Dublin*, I had many Wants to contend with, which I endeavour'd to remedy by drawing all the Cattle and Corn I could procure, into the Store, and buying ſome with my ready Money. And all this while, and to the concluding of the Ceſſation, I never ſold Cow or Barrel of Bread-Corn for my peculiar Uſe, but turned all to the Furtherance of the Publick. And of other Pillage I rarely receiv'd any; but left it for the moſt part entire to the Officers and Soldiers, who deſerved greater Recompence, adventuring themſelves with much Valour, Reſolution and Patience in the daily Proſecution of the Service. Many of the Rebels were ſlain

at

1641. at ſeveral Times; but the moſt, and moſt remarkable during this Winter, was at the Mill of *Kells*, which they obſtinately maintain'd.

In *March* the Marquis of *Ormonde* led the Army, with the Flower of the Garriſon of *Drogheda* and other adjacent Garriſons, towards *Roſs*; and I receiving Intelligence that the Rebels intended to ſend of their *Northern* Forces, to aſſiſt their Party in thoſe Quarters againſt the Marquis of *Ormonde*, I moved the Lord *Moore* to draw the beſt Strength he could conveniently from *Dundalk*; and ſending for thoſe that might be ſpared from *Trim*, I met them at *Kells*, the appointed Rendezvous, with a Party from *Drogheda*, where we made in all eleven hundred Foot and one hundred and twenty Horſe. At *Kells* we took a few Priſoners that were not aware of their Danger, and amongſt them one *Plunket* a Popiſh Arch-Deacon. Part of their *Cavan* Forces were then near us, and ſent a Drummer pretending to treat an Exchange or Ranſom of the Arch-Deacon: The Drummer, as is the Cuſtom of ſuch Fellows, ſpake much of the Strength and Valour of the *Cavan* Men; and I, that I might make a little Uſe of his Errand, which was, as I conceived, rather (if he could) to diſcover our Strength and Intention, than to redeem the Priſoners, told him, that I thought to have gone through *Weſtmeath* toward the County of *Longford*: But ſince he ſpake ſo much of the Number and Courage of the *Cavan* Forces near me, I would turn my Courſe that Way, leſt I might be diſhonoured in ſeeming to decline them, for Fear of their Power and Ability to reſiſt me. The Drummer appearing to be perplexed, becauſe his Boaſting was like to bring Inconvenience upon his Country, not formerly intended; wherefore I ſaid farther (for I knew it would have Wings when it came amongſt them) that I would at leaſt (that I might not appear to be terrify'd) lodge that Night in the County of *Cavan*, it not being Two Miles out of my Way into the County of *Longford*. And after we were all in a Readineſs to march I diſmiſs'd the Drummer, chearful in the Apprehenſion that he had diſcovered ſo much of my Purpoſe. That Night we went Eight Miles into the County of *Cavan*, ſaw many Rebels, but they knew their Diſtance; yet at *Lough Ramor*, in an Iſland, we lighted on the Earl of *Fingall*'s Two Children, Thirty Caſe of new Piſtols, with other Goods, that could not be ſuddenly taken away when he fled from thence.

That Night, about one of the Clock, the Moon ſhining, we ſet forth towards the *Cavan*, came thither ſeaſonably the next Day, and unexpected, the Rebels being ſecure on their Drummer's Report that I intended another Way; the Town was ſoon abandoned, and every Man ſhifted for himſelf. The next Day the Rebels were gotten together, fought with us at *Ballyhays*: Afterwards at a Bridge within three Miles of *Belturbet*. We routed them at both Places in one Day, took two Captains and ſeveral

ral other Priſoners, beſides many of their Soldiers and ſome remarkable Men ſlain by us. We freed divers *Engliſh* that were in Reſtraint among them, and kill'd a Rebel as he was firing a Houſe, wherein there were ten *Engliſh* ſhut up ready to be burnt. I ſtaid two Days entire in thoſe Parts, burnt *Ballybays*, the *Cavan*, and other Places, and then returned with a great Prey; which ſerved much to the Relief of our ſeveral Garriſons, in thoſe Days of exceeding Wants and great Extremities. 1641.

About the latter End of *April*, when I had prepared to fall into the County of *Longford*, I was fain to forſake that Deſign, and to repair to *Dublin*, whither I was called by his Majeſty's Letter to be one of his Juſtices; a Charge as far above my Expectation or Deſire, as unſuitable to my Parts or Fortune: Yet there being a Neceſſity of my Obedience, I framed my ſelf to the beſt of my Capacity to advance the Publick Service, and finding the Army in the higheſt Extremity of Want, all Ways and Means already ſought and run through for their Support, even to the ſeizing the Native Commodities of the Kingdom; Hides, Tallow, and ſuch like, taken from Shipboard after the Cuſtoms paid, and expoſed to Sale. I was wonderfully perplexed, and Sir *John Borlace*, his Majeſty's other Juſtice, and my ſelf, with the Council, daily aſſembled: We ſpent the whole Time in ſending Complaints into *England*, both to King and Parliament; in the mean Time borrowing, taking up, and engaging the whole Board for Money, and all ſorts of Victual and Commodities convertible to the Soldiers Relief.

Amidſt theſe Extremities his Majeſty's Letters came over, ſignifying his Majeſty's Sorrow, and Diſability to relieve us, in regard of the Troubles in *England*. All Mens Eyes were on the Parliament, but no Succours in thoſe Times arriving from thence to ſupport the Forces, his Majeſty permitted a Treaty to be had with the *Iriſh* touching a Ceſſarion of Arms, in caſe all other Helps were failing: Which was generally ſo diſagreeing to the Board, that moſt of them deſired to run any Fortune and Extremity of famiſhing, rather than yield unto it. And truly, I was ſo much of that Opinion, that when the Marquis of *Ormonde* made offer that if he might be advanc'd 10000 *l.* part Victuals, part Shoes and Stockings, and part Money, that he would immediately draw towards the Rebels, and either compel them to run the Hazard of the Field, or to forſake their Quarters, and leave them to the Spoil of our Soldiers, which might prove to them a future Subſiſtence. And when *Theodore Scout* and the reſt of the Merchants of *Dublin* had refuſed to advance the Money upon the Security of all the Lands of the whole Board, and the Cuſtoms of *Dublin*, for the Intereſt of the Money; I moved the Board, there being at that Time one and twenty Counſellours preſent, and my ſelf of meaneſt Fortune among them, that every one for himſelf, out of his peculiar

Means

Means and Credit, would procure 300 *l.* which amongſt us all would raiſe 6300 *l.* For even with that Sum, and ſuch Means as the Marquis of *Ormonde* ſhould procure himſelf, he offer'd to undertake the Work, and that there ſhould be no farther mention of a Ceſſation amongſt us. But this Motion of mine finding no Place, the Ceſſation in ſhort time began to be treated on, and was in Sincerity of Heart as much hinder'd and delay'd by me, as was in my Power; for I believ'd it would be hurtful to the Publick, and therefore I caſt in Rubs to lengthen the Treaty, expecting daily Relief and Money from *England*, whither Sir *Thomas Wharton* was employ'd with the ſad Stories of the Publick Miſeries. Thus was the Ceſſation laid aſide for a while, which was afterwards renewed at *Gigenſtown*.

At that time *Owen O Neal* fell into our Quarters, and took ſeveral Caſtles, for want of competent Forces to oppoſe him: Whereupon, underſtanding that *Monroe* with a flouriſhing Army of *Scots* was in the County of *Ardmagh*, and in three Days March might be brought to our Aſſiſtance; I moved the Board to write unto him, to advance his Forces, and joyn with us againſt the Common Enemy. And becauſe the Meſſage might be the better accepted, Colonell *Crawford* was employ'd unto him with the aforeſaid Letter, and particular Advice and Perſwaſion from my ſelf to haſten his coming. How Colonell *Crawford* acquitted himſelf in the Diſcharge of this Truſt, will beſt appear by *Monroe*'s Anſwer, who had formerly intimated unto the Lord *Moore* his voluntary readineſs to joyn with us; but now invited, and that by a Power whereunto he was ſubordinate, he refuſed to come, becauſe the Marquis of *Ormonde* had not ſign'd the Letter ſent unto him, though he could not but be informed from Colonell *Crawford*, that the Marquis of *Ormonde* was abſent upon the Treaty; and that the Letter could not in Convenience of Time be tranſmitted unto him, returned, and ſent, with Expectation of that ſpeedy Remedy we were neceſſarily to reap by it.

Now this Hope failing, as a broken Reed not to be rely'd on, Colonell *Monk* was call'd from good Succeſs in the County of *Wicklow*, to join with the Lord *Moore* for the Succour of *Meath*, where the Lord *Moore* was unhappily ſlain: Yet the Expectation of Victual and Relief from *England* ſtop'd the haſty Progreſs of the Ceſſation, until the Evening, as I take it, of the 11th or 12th of *September*, a Fleet of Ships was diſcovered near the Harbour, to the great Joy of all honeſt Hearts: But the next Morning, one Captain *Dauske*, that was come in with the Fleet of Proviſions, and had landed the Night before, returned early on Shipboard, hoiſted Sail, forſook the Harbour, and compelled Seventeen Barks laden with Neceſſaries from *Liverpool* and other Places, to do the like. On what Ground or Intelligence he did it, is yet unknown; but this ſo

rare

rare and unlook'd for Accident amazed all Men, put the Soldiers into a Mutiny, and drew on a very unprofitable, and in my Apprehenſion, a very diſhonourable Ceſſation to be concluded with the Rebels, with very much Diſlike of moſt of thoſe that were Actors in the Treaty. 1641.

Sir *John Borlace* and my ſelf continued the Place of Juſtices until about *Chriſtmas* following, and then by his Majeſty's Direction deliver'd up the Sword to the Marquis of *Ormond*; and I retiring my ſelf to my former Charge at *Drogheda*, labour'd to ſupport that Garriſon, that in due time it might be ſerviceable to the Crown of *England*. And when the Summer following the *Scotch* Forces advanc'd into *Weſtmeath*, returned by our Quarters, and lodged at *Atherdee*, though they profeſt themſelves oppoſite to our Party, and had proffer'd ſome Acts of Hoſtility, yet did I not forbid nor hinder Proviſion to be ſent unto them, as ſome Snarlers at all my Actions have untruly ſuggeſted: But the Truth is, they abounded in all Proviſions, and ſtaid at *Atherdee* but one Night, inſomuch that the Drink and other Neceſſaries that ſeveral Perſons of *Drogheda* had provided, could not come timely enough to them, as was deſired.

About eight or ten Days after that the *Scotch* Army was return'd into the *North*, the Earl of *Caſtlehaven* and *Owen Roe O Neal*, with all the *Iriſh* Strength, came unto *Atherdee*, and remained in thoſe Parts, as I remember, about Fourteen Days; and during the time of their Abode, they required the Benefit of the Market, for the buying of ſuch Proviſions as were needful for them, and that the Town and Garriſon might ſpare: Which Demand agreeing with the Articles of Ceſſation, could not be in reaſon abſolutely deny'd by me, except I would draw their united Forces on *Drogheda*, the Garriſon being weak, and unable to oppoſe them. And this was a Thing that was propos'd amongſt them by *Owen Roe O Neal*, as I was informed. However, I caſt in many Rubs, and found ſeveral Ways to delay their Deſire of Commerce, until at laſt the Earl of *Caſtlehaven* ſent his Lieutenant General to underſtand the Reaſon of my Backwardneſs, and to expoſtulate the Matter with me at large: And then indeed I had Direction from *Dublin* to grant them their Deſire; whereupon I ſent for Mr. Alderman *Geves*, the preſent Mayor of the Town, and told him in the Preſence of the Lieutenant General, that the Articles of the Ceſſation afforded free Traffick for either Party; and that a provident Care being in the firſt Place taken for the Neceſſities of the Town, the Benefit of the Market might be granted unto thoſe that were without; and the Lieutenant General might appoint ſome one of the Inhabitants of the Town to buy ſuch Proviſions for the Uſe of the *Iriſh* Army, as could conveniently be ſpared. Whereupon he named one *Dardis*, who came unto me to know whether he might with Safety, and without future Blame, he employed by them: And I told him, he might;

1641. for I was not willing that any of theirs ſhould lodge in the Town, or frequent our Markets. The Proviſion that they had, was moſt Drink. Of 160 Barrels of Wheat bought for their Uſe, I cauſed the Moiety to be ſtop'd. Some Oatmeal they had, and courſe Bread of Beans and Peaſe was carried forth by private Perſons to be ſold unto them. The whole Quantities are extant in the Exciſe-Books of *Drogheda*, not amounting in all to the value of 800 *l.* moſt of it being in Beer, and of little Relief to the *Iriſh* Army; though much hath been ſpoken on this Subject to traduce me, by foul Mouths, and Perſons of unſound Hearts, which hath cauſed me the rather thus far to inſiſt on this Particular.

From that Time I continued conſtant in my Care and Charge, without intermeddling in other Affairs, until certain Overtures of Peace were propounded by the *Iriſh* Party, in my Opinion very unequal as deſtructive to the Proteſtant Religion, exceeding hurtful to his Majeſty's preſent Service, and to the utter Ruin of the *Engliſh* Intereſt in this Kingdom.

And that his Majeſty might rightly underſtand the Conditions of the *Iriſh*, and the Nature and Quality of their Demands, I was ſent among others unto *Oxford*, with the whole Paſſages of the Treaty, and did acquit my ſelf with that Freedom in every Particular, as became the Loyalty and Fidelity I owe unto my King and Country. And at our Return from *Oxford*, all of us that were upon the aforeſaid Employment were taken at Sea, between *Wales* and *Ireland*, and carried Priſoners unto *London*, and committed to the Tower: A bad Recompence of my Endeavours. Yet I cannot juſtly complain, becauſe foul and falſe Accuſations were exhibited againſt me, which coming to be juſtified, had not ſo much as a Shadow of Truth.

Afterwards I was enlarged on Exchange, and continued my Command in *Ireland* with the ſame Duty, Zeal and Affection to the Service of my King and Country, as I had formerly done, And in purſuance thereof, the Commiſſioners ſent over by the Parliament being willing to continue my Employment, I embrac'd it with chearfulneſs, and in few Days paſſing from *Dublin* to *Drogheda*, with a ſmall Convoy of fifteen Horſe, and as many more Officers of Quality and Valour, beſides ſome Travellers and Merchants, we were way-laid by near Three Hundred Rebels, choice Horſe, well arm'd and mounted; whom notwithſtanding, it being a Caſe of Neceſſity, we boldly charged, kill'd the Captain that led them; and there, in the midſt of the Rebels, a young Man (to ſay no more of him, becauſe he was my Son) of fair Hopes was to my continual Sorrow unfortunately ſlain. Afterwards we made good our Retreat Three Miles, loſing in it and in the firſt Place of Combat thoſe Eleven Men; and amongſt Lieutenant Colonell *Trevor*, a Gentleman of ſingular Worth and Valour. Neither had the Rebels much to vaunt of, for they loſt Two Leaders of Quality

Quality and Six Troopers. This I relate the more particularly, becauſe the Oppoſition they found in ſo ſmall a Party ſerved greatly to abate their Courage, when we met them ſome nine or ten Days after, at the Battle of *Dungan* Hill. At that Battle I led the Rear-guard of the Army, and acquitted my ſelf in that Days Service as became me; whereof the Parliament, without any Motion or Expectation of mine, were pleas'd to take to take ſo far Notice as to vote me 200 *l.* A while after I fell into the County of *Cavan*, took a great Prey from the Rebels, burnt much of their Corn, and return'd without the Loſs of one Man. 1641.

In *November* following I had Notice, and gave Colonel *Jones* Advertiſement of *Owen Roe O Neal*'s Preparations and March towards our Quarters; and this being *Saturday* in the Evening, I ſent immediately Directions that Night to the Horſe at *Drogheda* and the Garriſons in thoſe Parts, conſiſting of two Regiments and five Troops, to be with me at *Trim* on *Monday* Morning following: And accordingly ſeven Troops came to me, as the reſt might have done to the Advantage of the Service, but did it not at that Time. With theſe ſeven Troops I followed the Rear-guard of *O Neal*, and ſometimes on his Flank, from *Monday* till *Thurſday* following, taking and killing divers of his Men that were left to fire our Quarters; by which Means I preſerved much of the Country from Spoil. On *Thurſday* in the Afternoon the reſt of the Horſe came up to me; and alſo I received a Letter from Colonel *Jones*, in any caſe to joyn with him, near *Dublin*, if poſſibly I could; which I effected at *Donſin* three Miles from *Dublin*, between ten and eleven that Night. The next Morning we march'd after *Owen Roe*, and before Night overtook him with his Army, between *Ratothe* and *Garriſtown*. That we then fought not with him, he being on his Retreat in a kind of flying Poſture, was the Advice and Counſel of warier Men than my ſelf; for Advantage ought not to be loſt through the Fear of the Number of the Enemy, ſince the flight of the baſer Sort ſerves to rout the moſt valorous; and we had many hopeful Reaſons to make a Tryal of at that Time: But Colonel *Jones*, though not ignorant of the Occaſion, yet would not be perſwaded by me; but delay'd the Execution of it till the next Day, which *Owen Roe*, by ſtealing away that Night utterly prevented.

Not long after I enter'd into the County of *Weſtmeath* with a conſiderable party of Horſe and Foot, took in the Town of *Foore* and another Caſtle, and burnt them; with ſeveral other Places, and abundance of Corn in Store and Stack, as far as *Multefarnam*, inſomuch that when I was returned with a great Prey, the Rebels ſent from *Mullingar* to offer themſelves under Contribution. In my way to *Weſtmeath* Major *Cadogan* with a Party of Foot took in a ſtrong Houſe that before the Rebellion belonged to himſelf with a Neſt of fifteen or ſixteen Notorious Rebels. Other Services were done that Journey, which, in regard they met with no Oppoſition, I forbear to particularize.

1641. The remainder of that Winter I often fell into the Counties of *Cavan* and *Monaghan*, always with Succeſs, to the Deſtruction of many of the Rebels, and the gaining of conſiderable Preys: For the Want we ſuffer'd, and the Neceſſity of our Condition, required us to run many Hazards, thereby to gain Subſiſtence.

In the Spring Colonel *Monck* drew a Party out of the *North*, march'd through the Rebels Quarters, drove all before him; and by Agreement, I fell in on the other Side, compaſt a great Part of the County of *Cavan*, went through the waſted Town of *Cavan*, paſt by *Ballyhays* and other Places, and met Colonel *Monck* on the Borders, between the Counties of *Cavan* and *Monaghan*. Between us we took a great Prey from the Rebels, diſtreſt them in all Places where they made Oppoſition, which was not conſiderable; inſomuch that though they loſt much Cattle, few were ſlain in the defence of them. I afterwards made other Roads to the ſame Purpoſe, and ever with happy returns.

In *July* Colonel *Jones* ſent me two Culverins with a Party of Foot from *Dublin*, to ſtrenghthen thoſe I could conveniently draw from *Drogheda* and the Garriſons about me, that I might be enabled to go before *Ballyhoe* and other Holds and Caſtles of the Rebels, which much annoyed our Frontiers; and Colonel *Monck* drew forth a Party out of *Dundalk*, and ſat down on the other ſide of *Ballyhoe*, in the County of *Monaghan*. The next Morning after my Arrival I ſent forth a Party, and took in a Caſtle that defended a Paſs on *Logan* Water, between Colonel *Monck* and my ſelf. The Rebels in *Ballyhoe* were confident of their Strength, and comforted with Expectation of Relief, which made them bold and Reſolute to endure the Battery, and defend the Place: But when the breach appear'd in ſome ſort aſſaultable, they beat a Parley; and though we were at firſt reſolv'd not to liſten to them, in regard of their Obſtinacy, yet at laſt we condeſcended to forbear a little, and hear their Demands; and thereupon ſome of the Officers and Soldiers appearing more openly than formerly, in Confidence of the Parley, the Rebels inſtantly gave Fire upon us. Colonel *Monck* and my ſelf ſtanding on the Battery cloſe together, a Bullet paſt through one of the Culverin Ladles, and in the deſcent touch'd my Hat, and fell on Colonel *Monck*'s Strap of his Buff Hangers and Girdle, cut them both through, and reſted in his Buff Coat without farther Hurt; but Colonel *Ponſoby* was ſhot in the Leg, a little below the Knee: Whereupon we gave preſent Order to fall on, as we were formerly prepar'd to do; and by God's Aſſiſtance took it by Aſſault, putting all to the Sword (for the moſt part) that were found in it, which were many, in regard moſt of the Rebels that inhabited thereabouts were retired thither.

This Caſtle taken, Colonel *Monck* return'd to *Dundalk*, and I went forward to the *Nabbor* and *Cruce*'s Fort, both ſtrong Places; but upon my Advance

Advance deſerted by the Rebels, as ſeveral other Caſtles were, or deliver'd without a Stroke, to the Number of Nine, whereof moſt were blown up, the reſt Garriſon'd by me. I could have proceeded farther; but I had Order to return, and did ſo accordingly about the Beginning of *Auguſt*; at which time there was a great Fame of the Marquis of *Ormonde*'s landing in *Munſter*, and ſeveral Officers that had ſerved under him heretofore againſt the Rebels (upon no Ground that ever could appear, but the Jealouſie of the Times) were ſent Priſoners into *England*, others clapt in Priſon in the Caſtle of *Dublin* and at *Drogheda*. I was inform'd that the like Proceeding was intended againſt my ſelf, and that I was the firſt in the Liſt to be ſent over into *England*; but having the Charge of thoſe Forces abroad, the Time was not then ſeaſonable: Whereupon I wrote to Colonel *Jones*, that I underſtood I was drawn into ſuſpicion through ſome malicious Repreſentation of me in *England*; and therefore that I might not be prejudicial to him and the Service of *Ireland*, nor receive ſo bad a Recompence of my many Hazards and faithful Endeavours againſt the Rebels in this War, as to be made an undeſerved Priſoner, I craved his Licenſe to go over into *England*, that if any Crime could be laid unto my Charge, I would be there ready to clear my ſelf, or undergo the Puniſhment proper for it: Which Colonel *Jones* granted. 1641.

And although at my coming to *London* I had Liberty from the Council of State to return to my Command, yet becauſe the Times were full of Jealouſies, and that I was not alike grounded in all Mens Opinions (for ſome buſineſs of mine being debated in the Houſe, it appear'd there were many that had a prejudicate Opinion of me) I therefore freely repoſed my Arms, and forſook my Employment.

I have not written this to glorify my ſelf, but to leave you, my dearly Beloved, theſe few Memorials of my Actions, wherein it pleaſed God to uſe me inſtrumentally, that you may the better frame your Addreſs to the lawful Favour of thoſe that have Power to aſſiſt you in the Recovery of my ſeveral Diſburſements made for the Army, and my Perſonal Arrears. But look not on them, my Dear, as a large and precious Legacy; nor do not murmur or repine, though your Suits and juſt Deſires are rejected: For God is All-ſufficient, on whom alone I beſeech you and your Family wholly to depend, making that the ſole End of your Buſineſs to fear him, and keep his Commandments: So ſhall you be ſure, in all Conditions and Eſtates, to find Content here, and Eternal Felicity hereafter, which God grant us all. The laſt Petition of

June 8th, 1651.

Your Affectionate Husband,
HEN. TICHBORNE.

The Names of the ſeveral Captains, as they came in for our Defence at *DROGHEDA*.

October 26, 1641.

THE Lord Viſcount *Moore* of *Drogheda*, with his Troop of Horſe conſiſting of Sixty Six.

Sir *John Nettervile*, Captain } With their two half ſtanding Companies.
Rockly Captain }

Seafowle Gibſon, Captain } His Company of the *Engliſh* Inhabitants and other Proteſtants were to the number of 120.

November the fourth, 1642.

Sir *Henry Tichborne*, Colonel, and Governour of the Town, his Company of Foot.

Sir *John Borlace* Captain, } Theſe three, though having been before Officers
L. Colonel *Byron* Captain, } of the Field, yet out of their Zeal to the pre-
L. Colonel *Wenmond* Capt. } ſent Service came as private Captains.

Jacob Lovel, Serjeant-Major, who died in the Siege.

Captain *Chicheſter Forteſcue*.
Captain *Edw. Billingſley*.
Captain *John Morris*.
Captain *Will. Willoughby*.
Captain *Lewis Owens*.

The Troops of Horſe.

John Sloughter Captain, Lieutenant to Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Commiſſary General.

Thomas Grymes, Lieutenant to Sir *Adam Loftus*.

November the Tenth.

Captain *Henry Bryan*. Capt. *Patrick Trevor*. Capt. *Foulke Martin*.

November the Two and Twentieth.

Chriſtopher Roger Serjeant-Major, } Theſe 3 Captains eſcaped very defective
Captain *William Cadogan*, } in their Companies from the Defeat at
Captain *Charles Sownſley*, } the Bridge of *Gillianſtown*.

Fifty Horſe under the Command of Sir *Patrick Weymes*, Captain Lieutenant to the Earl of *Ormonde*.

February the Twentieth, with our Second Relief.

Capt. *Richard Borrows*. Capt. *Edward Trevor*. Capt. *Will Hamilton*.

When all the aforeſaid Captains (excepting the Regiment of Sir *Henry Tichborne*) were appointed to be under my Lord *Moore*'s Command.

WE whoſe Names are here underwritten, who have been and continued Captains within the Town of *Drogheda*, during the Siege, and ſo Eye-witneſſes of moſt Things which have fall'n out in it, having duly and diligently read over this Book, Entituled, *The Hiſtory of the Siege of* Drogheda; do hereby according to the ſeveral Times of our coming thither, and according to our beſt Remembrance, confirm this foregoing Hiſtory to be wholly Truth: and do Teſtify it to be in each particular very impartially and fully Related. As Witneſs our Hands this Eleventh of *June*, 1651.

Seaf. Gibſon. *Rob. Byron.* *Phil. Wenman.*
Jo. Sloughter. *Rich. Borrows* *P. Weymes.*

The Lord Viſcount *Moor* of *Drogheda*, his Confirmation of the Truth of the Foregoing Hiſtory.

HOwſoever the known Integrity of the Author is a ſufficient Teſtimony of it ſelf, yet (having the ſecond time read over this Book, Entituled, *The Hiſtory of the Siege of* Drogheda, where I have been an Eye-witneſs of what hath been done from the beginning of it,) I do hereby (according to the Atteſtation of the Six other Captains, and in Anſwer to the Deſire of ſuch as have conceived it neceſſary) confirm this foregoing Hiſtory to be wholly Truth, and in each particular to be fully and very impartially Written; (only declining throughout ſuch Paſſages as may concern my ſelf.) As Witneſs my Hand this 22d of *June*, 1651.

MOORE.

FINIS.

F I N I S.

THE WHOLE

TRYAL

OF

Connor Lord *Mac-Guire*,

WITH

The perfect Copies of the **Indictment**, and all the **Evidences** against him.

ALSO,

The Copy of Sir *Phelim O Neil*'s Commiſſion, the *Pope*'s Bull to the Confederate *CATHOLICKS* in

IRELAND:

WITH

Many remarkable Paſſages of the **Grand Rebellion** there, from the firſt Riſe thereof to this preſent. His Plea of PEERAGE, and ſeveral Anſwers: With the ſeveral Replies made to him.

By { The King's Sergeant at Law, and Sergeant ROLL.
WILLIAM PRYNNE, Eſquire; and M. NUDIGATE.

AND

The Copies of the ſeveral Teſtimonies brought in againſt him at his Tryal at the King's Bench-Bar, in *Hillary* Term laſt:

BY

The Lord *Blaney*,	Sir *Fran. Hamilton*,	*John Carmicke*.
Lady *Caulfield*,	Sir *Edw. Borlacey*,	*Walter Gubſon*.
Sir *Arthur Loftus*,	Sir *William Cole*,	*M. Bunbury*.
Sir *John Temple*,	Sir *Charles Coot*.	Capt. *Mich. Balfoure*.
Sir *William Stewart*,	Mrs. *Wordrofe*.	Captain *Berisford*.

DUBLIN:

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TRYAL

THERE will be no need of making any long Preamble to this Buſineſs of the Lord *Mac-Guire*: there is none of us but have cauſe to be very ſenſible of it in ſome of our Blood, ſome dear Friend, or at leaſt ſome Acquaintance in the preſent unhappy War enſuing this moſt **damnable Treaſon**, plotted by him and his Confederates; the Particulars whereof you will find in Order, which are in themſelves ſo Copious, and Satisfactory, that it will not need any other pointing out then the Order it lies in.

Here followeth a Proclamation Publiſhed upon the firſt diſcovery of the Plot.

A Proclamation, by the Lords JUSTICES and COUNCIL.

William Parſons. John Borlace.

THESE are to make known and publiſh to all his Majeſty's good Subjects in this Kingdom of Ireland, *that there is a Diſcovery made to us the Lords Juſtices and Council, of a moſt diſloyal and deteſtable Conſpiracy intended by ſome evil affected* Iriſh Papiſts, *againſt the lives of Us, the Lords Juſtices and Council, and many others of his Majeſty's faithful Subjects univerſally throughout this Kingdom, and for the ſeizing not only of his Majeſty's Caſtle of* Dublin, *His Majeſty's principal Fort here, but alſo of the other Fortifications in this Kingdom: And ſeeing by the great Goodneſs and abundant mercy of Almighty God to His Majeſty and this State and Kingdom, thoſe wicked Conſpiracies are brought to Light, and ſome of the Conſpirators committed to the Caſtle of* Dublin, *by Us, by his Majeſty's Authority, ſo as thoſe wicked and damnable Plots are now diſappointed in the chief Parts thereof: We therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publickly known, for the Comfort of his Maieſty's good and loyal Subjects in all parts of the Kingdom, but alſo hereby to require them that they do with all Confidence and Chearfulneſs betake themſelves to their own Defence, and ſtand upon their Guard, ſo to render the more Safety to themſelves and all the Kingdom beſides, and that they advertiſe Us with all poſſible ſpeed of all Occurences which may concern the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, and now to ſhew fully that Faith and Loyalty, which they have always ſhown for the publick ſervices of the Crown and Kingdom, which We will value to His Majeſty accordingly, and a ſpecial Memory thereof will be retained for their advantage in due Time: And We re-*

quire that great care be taken that no Levies of Men be made for foreign Service, nor any Men ſuffered to march upon any ſuch Pretence.

Given at His Majeſty's Caſtle at *Dublin*, 23 *Octob.* 1641.

R. Dillon, Ro. Digby, Ad. Loftus, J. Temple, Tho. Rotheram, Fr. Willoughby, J. Ware, Rob. Meredith.

God Save the King.

Imprinted at *Dublin* by the Society of Stationers, 1641.

The Rebellion (notwithſtanding this Proclamation) went on ſtill; for though it took not at *Dublin*, where this Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Mac-Mahan*, and ſome other Conſpirators were diſcovered, and apprehended and many of the Rebels were diſperſed by reaſon thereof; Yet they called them in again, from Time to Time, by Warrants, (of which ſort here is the Copy of one under *Plunket*'s own Hand,) and have ever ſince continued this Rebellion.

By the Right Honourable the General Aſſembly of the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*.

THESE are to Will and Command you forthwith to make diligent Search and Enquiries within your ſeveral Towns, Villages, Quarters and Corporations, for all ſuch Soldiers as are come from the Fort of Duncannon, *ſithence the late Ceſſation; which were under the command of Captain* Ralph Capron, *and Captain* Edward Aſhton; *and whereſoever they or any of them ſhall be found, their Bodies to reſtrain and deliver unto the ſaid Captains, upon demand by the ſaid Captains, or either of them, the ſaid Captains faithfully promiſing not to inflict any further Puniſhment upon the ſaid Soldiers, or any of them, for this their firſt Fault; whereof you may not fail, as you and every of you will anſwer the contrary. And for ſo doing, ſhall be a ſufficient Warrant.*

Given at *Waterford* the 15th of *November*, 1643.

N. Plunket.

To all his Majeſty's Sheriffs, Sovereigns, Portriffs, Bayliffs, Colonels, Captains, Commanders, and other Officers whom it may concern within the County of *Wexford*, or elſewhere.

And

And in this bloody War plotted and begun in *Ireland* by this Lord *Mac-Guire*, and his Confederates, and ſeconded in *England:* How many thouſand of Men, Women, and Children have loſt their Lives; and for this the Rebels plead great Authority, as appears by this Declaration following.

A Declaration of the Lords, Gentry, and Others of *Leinſter* and *Munſter*, of their Intentions towards the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Proteſtants, Inhabitants within this Kingdom.

WHereas we are informed, that it is generally conceived and believed by the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Proteſtants Inhabitants of this Kingdom, that we the Lords, Gentry, and others of the ſaid Kingdom, have taken Arms, and taken Forces, for the Extirpation and Baniſhing of them out of this Kingdom, thereby to acquire to our ſelves their Goods and Eſtates: We therefore deſire to be rightly underſtood; for We hereby declare, that We never conſented, nor intended, nor neither will intend, nor condeſcend to any ſuch Act, but do utterly diſclaim them; but that each Man known to be a moderate conformable Proteſtant, may (as well as the Romiſh Catholicks) reſpectively live and enjoy the Freedom of their own Religion, and peaceably and quietly poſſeſs their own Eſtates, ſo far forth as they, or any of them, ſhall joyn with Us in this Oath following:

I A. B. *do in the Preſence of Almighty God, and all the Angels and Saints, and by the Contents of the Bible, Promiſe, Vow, Swear and Proteſt, to bear true Faith and Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King* Charles, *and the Heirs and Succeſſors of his Body begotten, and will defend Him and Them, as far as I may, with my Life, Power, and Eſtate, againſt all Perſons that attempt any thing againſt his or their Perſons, Honours, Eſtates, and Dignities; and that I will with the expoſing of my Life, Power, and Eſtate, joyn with the ſaid* Iriſh *or any Other, to recover his Eſtate, Royal Prerogatives forcibly wreſted from Him by the Puritans, in the Houſes of Parliament in* England, *and to maintain the ſame againſt Them and all Others, that ſhall directly or indirectly endeavour to Suppreſs or do any Act contrary to regal Government; as alſo to maintain Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, and the lawfulneſs thereof in the Church, Powers and Priviledges of Prelates, and the lawful Rights and Priviledges of the Subjects:*

* And I will do no Act or Thing, directly or indirectly, to hinder the free and publick Exerciſe of the Romiſh Catholick Religion in any His Majeſty's Dominions; *and that I will joyn with, and be aſſiſtant to the Mem-*

* Note this.

bers

bers of this Common-wealth for Redreſs to be had of the Grievances and Preſſures thereof, in ſuch Manner and Form as ſhall be thought fit by a lawful Parliament, and to my power, as far as I may, I will oppoſe and bring to condign Puniſhment, even to loſs of Life, Liberty and Eſtate, of all ſuch as either by Force, or Practice, Counſels, Plots, Conſpiracies or Otherwiſe, do, or attempt any thing to the contrary of any Article, Clauſe or any Thing in this preſent Oath, Vow, or Proteſtation, contained; and neither for Reward, Fear, or Puniſhment, or any Reſpect whatſoever, ſhall relinquiſh this Oath and Proteſtation. So help me God.

This Declaration and Oath was entred in the Council Book of *Kilkeney*, and this is a true Copy thereof. Witneſs the Hand of

Jeremy Green, Clerk of the Supreme Council of *Kilkeney*.

God ſave the King.

By the Confederate Catholicks of the Supreme Council.

WHereas the Scotiſh *Army in the Province of* Ulſter, *and other their Adherents, in the ſaid Province, and other parts of the Kingdom, have of late (as often before) taken a Traiterous Oath of Covenant againſt His Sacred Majeſty, his Crown and Dignity, and made an unchriſtian and prophane Vow for the utter Extirpation of the* Iriſh *Nation, and total Suppreſſion of the Catholick Roman Religion, Subverſion of Monarchical Government, and introduction of confuſed Anarchy within this Realm: And not contented with the inhuman and unparalleled Maſſacres by them committed on poor Labourers, Women, Children, and many thouſands of other Innocents of our Nation, without diſtinction of Age, Sex, or Condition, before the concluſion of the Ceſſation at* Siggins *Town, on the 15th of September laſt, notwithſtanding continual Depredations, Robberies, Thefts, Burnings, and Deſtruction of all the Corn and Inhabitants in many Counties and Territories within the ſaid Realm, and elſewhere by them acted before the ſaid Ceſſation: The ſaid traiterous Covenanters receiving their Maintenance, Support, and Orders, from the Rebels now in Arms againſt his Majeſty in* England; *have augmented, and do rather multiply and increaſe*

increaſe, than diminiſh their exhorbitant Courſes: And whereas the ſaid Rebels have joined in a ſtrict Union and Confederation to deſtroy the Iriſh *Nation root and branch (as they term it) and their Miniſters and Adherents, by their Directions, at Sea as well as Land, do exerciſe no leſs Cruelty: For, as oft as Shipping do meet any weaker Veſſels at Sea, tranſporting Men from this Kingdom for His Majeſty's Service in* England, *if* Iriſh-*Men, though Proteſtants, and valiant and uſeful Servitors againſt the Confederate Catholicks in this War, the* Iriſh *are thrown overboard, as doth appear by the late throwing into the Sea, and drowning of an Iriſh Company of Foot of Colonel* Willoughby's *Regiment, all Proteſtants and Servitors as aforeſaid; and many Women in their Paſſage from* Dublin *to* Briſtol *by one of the pretended Parliament Ships, and ſundry other Examples of that kind, againſt the Law of War and Nations. And whereas the ſaid* Scotiſh *Army, all compoſed of Rebels and Aſſaſſinates, are now in their march in great Numbers towards the three Provinces of this Kingdom, to accompliſh the Plots and Machinations aforeſaid: And whereas the ſaid Rebels in* England *have provided a great Navy, a conſiderable part whereof doth ſurround the Sea-coaſt in this Kingdom, and are reſolved the next Summer, if it reſt in their Power, which God defend, to land great Forces in the Province of* Munſter *and* Leinſter: *And the ſaid Rebels of* Scotland *have the like deſign of landing of Forces in the parts of* Ulſter *next unto the Province of* Conaght: *And whereas the Auxiliary Forces of the three Provinces, deſigned and raiſed for the neceſſary Defence of our Religion, King, and Nation, are now marched to the Province of* Ulſter *under the Command of our very good Lord the Earl of* Caſtlehaven, *General, appointed by the laſt General Aſſembly for the Expedition of* Ulſter, *to repel the ſaid Fury and Inſolency of the ſaid Rebels. Wherefore we hold it of abſolute neceſſity, for the Safety of the Kingdom, and His Majeſty's Intereſt therein, that all the ſaid other three Provinces be forthwith in Arms, as well to preſerve themſelves at home from the ſaid intended Invaſions, as alſo to be ready to aſſiſt the ſaid Army abroad, marched into* Ulſter, *if need require.*

We do therefore by this publick Act and Proclamation Order, Command, and Require all the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, Freeholders, and all other Perſons, from the Age of 18 *Years, to the Age of* 60, *forthwith to put themſelves in Arms and Poſture of Defence; and ſuch as want Arms and Ammunition, and are able, are hereby required to provide the ſame forthwith, for Themſelves, their Servants and Retinue. And for the better effecting this high and important Service, we do hereby Require, Order, and Command all and every the Governours, Deputy-Governours, Mayors, Sheriffs, and all other Head-Officers of the reſpective Counties, Cities, and Incorporate Towns of this Kingdom, within our Quarters, viz. the Governours, Deputy-Governours, in the Counties where they are Governours, to call to aſſiſtance the High Sheriff, and two or more of the Commiſſioners of the Array; and in the Counties where there is no*

Governour,

Governour, the High Sheriff, calling to his assistance three, or more of the Commissioners, of the Array: And in the Cities, and Corporate Towns, the Mayor and other Head-Officers, taking to assistance the recommended Sheriffs and Bailiff thereof, or any one or more of them, forthwith to summon all the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, and Others, able and fit to bear Arms, between the Ages aforesaid, to appear well armed upon a certain Day, and in a certain Place, within the said respective Counties and Towns respectively, and upon such Appearance, to inlist the Names, Sirnames, Age, Arms, and Ammunition of every Person, who will so appear, in a Book fairly written, and the said Governour, Deputy-Governours, Mayors, High Sheriffs, and other Head-Officers, taking to their assistance, as aforesaid, are hereby required and authorized to impose Fines, to the double Value of the Arms and Ammunition, upon any Person or Persons so summoned, that will make default, who ought to have according to the meaning of this our Proclamation, and of other our former Proclamations, to this Effect: And to impose the single Value of the Arms he should have, upon such as will appear, and not be armed as becometh: And We require the said Governours, and other Officers aforesaid, at their Perils to make due Return unto the general Assembly now near at hand, or unto Us, in a fair Book fairly written, of the Number, Names, Sirnames, Arms, Ammunition, Defaults, and Fines aforesaid, at the furthest, by the sixth day of the Month of August,

Given at *Kilkeney* the 6th of *July* 1644.

Mount-Garret, Fz. Tho. Dublin, Antrim, Nettervill, Arthur Iveagh, John Cloynfect, Tho. Preston, Edmond Fitz-Morris, Rich. Bealing, Tirlogh O Neile, Patrick Darcy. George Comins.

Printed at *Waterford* by THO. BOURKE, Printer to the Confederate Catholicks of IRELAND.

I caused this Declaration and Proclamation to be printed here in *England*; and will justify it to be their Act upon Oath.

Lazarus Haward.

My Lodging at Mr. *Stretcher's* in the *Tower-Bulwark.*

But to come to the particulars of the Tryal of the Lord *Mac-Guire*; which was thus:

The

The Tryal of *Connor* Lord *Mac-Guire*, Feb. 10, 1644. in the 20th Year of King *CHARLES* the First.

BY the Indictment the Priſoner at the Bar is charged, That he, together with Sir *Phil. O Neale*, *Philip O Relly*, *Roger Moore*, Eſq; *Roger Mac-Guire*, Eſq; *Toole O Conley* Clerk (being a Roman Prieſt,) *Hugh Macmahune*, and divers other Perſons, falſe Traytors, unknown, as a falſe-Traytor againſt the King's Majeſty, His Supreme Leige Lord, not having the fear of God in his Heart, nor conſidering his Duty or Allegiance, but being ſeduced by the Inſtigation of the Devil, intending altogether to withdraw, blot out, and extinguiſh the Cordial Love and due Obedience which faithful Subjects owe to their Sovereign; did on the 20th of *Oct.* 17. *Car.* at *Dublin* in *Ireland*, in the Parts beyond the Seas, and at divers other Times, both before and after, as well at *Dublin* as elſewhere, falſely, maliciouſly, and traiterouſly conſpire, imagine, and compaſs utterly to deprive and diſinherit the King's Majeſty of his Royal Eſtate and Kingdom of *Ireland*; to bring his Majeſty's Perſon to Death and Deſtruction; to raiſe Sedition, and breed and cauſe miſerable Slaughter and Deſtruction amongſt the King's Subjects throughout all the whole Kingdom; to make an Inſurrection and Rebellion againſt the King His Sovereign; to levy publick, open, bloody, and fierce War againſt the King in that Kingdom; to change and alter, according to their own Wills, the Government of the Kingdom, and the Religion there eſtabliſh'd, and totally to ſubvert the well ordered State of that Common-wealth; to procure and bring in divers Strangers and Foreigners (not being the King's Subjects) in a Warlike Manner to invade that Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to levy War there.

And in execution of theſe their wicked Treaſons, and traiterous Conſpiracies 20 *Octob.* 17. *Car.* the defendant *Connor Mac-Guire* at *Dublin*, and divers other times and places, by one *Toole O Conley*, and divers other meſſengers, by him ſent to *Owen O Neale*, being then in *Flanders*, did move and incite *Phil. O Neale* to levy and raiſe an Army in *Flanders*, and thence to bring that Army over into *Ireland* in an Hoſtile Manner to invade that Kingdom.

And further, to put in Execution their traiterous Purpoſes, the Defendant, together with *Hugh Macmahune*, *Phil. O Neale*, *Philip O Reily*, *Roger Moore*, *Roger Mac-Guire*, and *Tooſe O Conley*, the Priest, 20 *Oct.* 17 *Car.* at *Dublin*, and divers other Times and Places in *Ireland*, before and after, did traiterouſly conſpire to enter into, ſeize, get into their own Power, and ſurprize the King's Caſtle at *Dublin*, and all other the King's Caſtles and Forts in that Kingdom, and the Magazine therein. And at the ſame time unlawfully and traiterouſly did endeavour and actually attempt to gain into their Poſſeſſion and Power, and to ſurpriſe the ſaid Caſtle of *Dublin*, and the Munition therein.

That the Defendant, with the other Perſons named, *Philip O Neale* and others, further to bring to paſs their moſt horrid wicked Treaſons and Conſpiracies, on the 22d of *Octob.* 17 *Car.* at *Charlemont* and other Places, before and after, being armed and arrayed with a great multitude in a Warlike Manner, with Banners diſplayed, Drums, Swords, Staves, Guns, and other invaſive and defenſive Weapons, did falſly and traiterouſly prepare and levy open, fierce, and bloody War againſt the King's Majeſty; and the ſame 22d of *October* ſeiſed and ſurpriſed the King's Fort at *Charlemont*, and then and there maliciouſly and traiterouſly did kill and murder *Toby* Lord *Caulfield*, *Francis Davies*, and others of the King's Subjects that were Proteſtants.

That the Defendants, 4 *Junii*, 18 *Car.* at the Caſtles of *Keilagh* and *Cragan*, and other Times and Places, before and after, levyed War, ſeiſed and ſurprized thoſe Caſtles, and did kill and murder *Owen Powell* and *William Coſens*, and many other of the King's Proteſtant Subjects in that Kingdom.

Which ſeveral Offences are laid againſt his Duty and Allegiance, againſt the Peace of the King's Crown and Dignity, in manifeſt Breach and Contempt of the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom.

The Defendant pleaded not Guilty. And being demanded how he would be tried;

The Copy of the Plea.

HE pleaded the Statute of *Magna Charta*, 10 *Febr.* 9. *Hen.* 3. That none ſhould be condemned but by Tryal of his Peers; and pleaded the Statute of 10 *Hen.* 7. that all the Statutes made in *England* ſhould from thenceforth be in force in *Ireland*.

And pleaded, that before the Time of the ſeveral Treaſons charged in the Indictment, *Bryan Mac-Guire* his Father, by Letters Patents was created Baron of *Enniskillen*, in *Ireland*, to him and the Heirs Males of his Body: by Force whereof, his Father was ſeized of the Barony in Fee-Tail, and 1 *Febr.* 12 *Car.* died ſo ſeized; after whoſe Death the Barony deſcended to the Defendant, by Vertue whereof he was a Baron of *Ireland*. And that at a Parliament held at *Dublin*, 16 *March*, 16 *Car.* which was there

there continued till the 7th of *Auguſt* after, and then adjourned to the 9th of *Nov.* following, and then prorogued to the 24th of *Feb.* thence next following, and from thence continued till the 24 *June*, 18. *Car.*

That he was as one of the Noblemen and Peers of that Parliament; and that the 23d of *October*, 17 *Car.* he was arreſted and impriſoned upon Pretence of the ſeveral Treaſons in the Indictment mentioned, and there continued till the 12th of *June* 18 *Car.* when he was brought againſt his Will to *Weſtminſter*, and thence committed to the Tower of *London* in ſtrict Cuſtody. And averred his Plea, and prayed that he might be tryed and judged by his Peers in *Ireland.*

Whereunto the King's Council demurred in Law, and the Defendants joyned in the Demurrer.

Upon this Plea of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, the beginning of *Hillary Term*, Judge *Bacon* delivered his Judgment, that a Baron of *Ireland* was triable by a Jury in this Kingdom. After which, the Houſe of Commons declared their Aſſent unto his Opinion in this following Vote.

Die Sabbathi, 8 Feb. 1644.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion, That the Houſe doth approve of the Judgment given by Mr. Juſtice Bacon, *in over-ruling the Plea of the Lord* Mac-Guire, *and of the Manner of the Tryal upon the Indictment of High Treaſon in the King's Bench; and the Judge is hereby required to proceed ſpeedily thereupon, according to Law and Juſtice. The Lords Concurrence to be deſired herein; Maſter Recorder is appointed to carry it up.*

Upon this Vote of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, the Houſe of Peers afterwards declared their Concurrence; and thereupon this enſuing Order was paſſed by both Houſes of Parliament.

Die Lunæ, 10 Feb. 1644.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, that the ſaid Houſes do approve of the Judgment given by Maſter Juſtice Bacon, *in over-ruling the Plea of the Lord* Mac-Guire, *and of the manner of the Tryal upon the Indictment of High Treaſon in the King's Bench; and the Judge is hereby required to proceed ſpeedily thereupon, accordingly to Law and Juſtice.*

John Browne, Cler. Parl.
Hen. Elſing, Cler. Parl. D. C.

ON Monday, *February* 10, the Lord *Mac-Guire* (one of the chief Actors in that unparallel'd and unheard of Rebellion) was brought from the Tower of *London*, by the Guard belonging thereunto, to the Kings-Bench Bar, where he was arraigned by the name of *Conner Mac-Guire*, alias, *Cornelius Mac-Gaire* Esq; (for his Plea of Peerage was found Invalid, and so declared by the Court; and that opinion of the Judge was since assented unto, and confirmed by both Houses of Parliament.) At his coming to the Bar the Prisoner spake as followeth:

Mac-Guire. I do humbly move, that I may have time allowed me by this Court to send for my Witnesses.

Judge. You have had a long time, you were indicted about the beginning of the last Term, you might have prepared Witnesses the last Term.

Mac. I did not expect a Tryal.

Judge. You should expect it at your Peril.

Mac. I was told, when I came into the Kingdom, that I might have Witnesses.

Judge. The Proof lies upon the King's part.

Mac. Though the Proof be of the King's part, yet I must have time to clear my self.

Judge. But if every man should ask so much time as you require, he should never come to his Tryal.

Serjeant Whitfield. Mr. Justice *Bacon*, we know that my Lord *Mac-Guire* was indicted here the last Term; he was arraigned at this Bar, he pleaded, *Not Guilty*, he could not but expect that he had then been tried, if it had not been for the Plea of Peerage, that he then put in: upon which he knows there was a deliberate dispute, and he could not tell but that there would be an end before this time, and if he had had any Witnesses, he might have sent for them the last Term: but it is a very unusual course, especially in that he could not but expect that he should be tried before this time; but then the Court did conceive this was a legal Information. No place is mentioned by the Prisoner where the Witnesses should be, nor are they named who they are, nor any particular thing that they should testifie; but the Proof lies clear on our part: there's no justification in Treason, if we prove that this Lord hath committed Treason, there's no justification of that, by any Witnesses he can produce.

Judge. The Lord *Grey*, that was Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, committed his Treasons in *Ireland*, for which he was brought over hither, and tried here; yet the Court did not stay for his sending over into *Ireland* for Witnesses.

Mac. I desire Witnesses.

Judge. What can your Witnesses say for you? Can they say thus much, That you did not Conspire, as this Indictment charges you? That there was

no

no taking of these Castles? Can they swear in the Negative? The Proof lies in the Affirmative on the King's Part.

Mac. They may be misinformed.

Judge. Who may be misinformed?

Mac. The Court: I have been kept close Prisoner a long time, and could not provide my Witnesses.

Sir. Wilfield. If we were not tied to that, to nothing but his own Confession, there's enough to condemn him; for that he says he was kept close Prisoner, he might have desired that the last Term.

Serjeant Rolls. If we go upon your own Examination, the Witnesses concurring with that, what can you have?

Judge. If you had Witnesses here, we would hear them; but to stay upon a meer verbal Supposal, for those Witnesses in *Ireland*, they may be in that Rebellion too, and they will never come hither, and so the matter must never come to a Tryal.

Mac. I desire that it may be the next Term.

Judge. We cannot protract time; they are the King's Witnesses, there are (I suppose) divers here, many Witnesses of the King's come out of *Ireland*; if you will ask them any Questions for your Defence, you shall. There are many Witnesses of the King's that know how things were in *Ireland*, the Court shall put them to speak.

Mac. I humbly desire to have a formal Tryal.

Judge. In what respect do you mean? I think it is so now. Now you are come to be arraigned, and the Evidence is to come in against you, I conceive it is a formal one.

Then the Prisoner was required to hold up his Hand at the Bar; and it was demanded, if he would Challenge any of the Jury that were to pass upon him in the matter of Life and Death.

Then the Jury being called, he looked upon them, and challenged those which did appear, being twenty three, there being only one absent. Being demanded whether his Challenge was peremptory or no? He answered it was, for Causes best known to himself.

Jury challenged.

Sir *Wil. Brownelow*, Kt. and Baronet.
Sir *Henry Roe.*
Sir *Matthew Howland.*
Thomas Marsh, Esq;
Thomas Wilcox, Esq;
William Lane, Esq;
Edward Rogers, Esq;
Edward Claxton, Esq;
Richard Zachary, Esq;
Humphrey Westwood, Esq;
John Jackson, Esq;
John Pawlet, Gent.
Thomas Poltock, Gent.
Henry Smith, Gent.
Francis Child, Gent.
Edward Wilford, Gent.
William Vincent, Gent.
John Barnes.
John Arnold.
John Huckfley, Esq;
Sir *Ja. Harrington*, Kt.
Thomas Moore, Esq;
Henry Arundell, Gent.

Ser.

Ser. Whitfield. The Priſoner hath challenged all the Jury that does appear; twenty three appear, and he hath challenged them, and his Challenge is for Cauſes beſt known to himſelf, which is a peremptory Challenge. Truly, it is that which the Law doth allow, and we do not oppoſe it; but we do deſire that we may have another Writ returnable to morrow.

Judge. You muſt have a *Venire facias.*

Ser. Whitfield. This Cauſe is a Cauſe of very great weight, there are many Witneſſes that have long attended in Court, we are informed that ſome of them are gone away into *Ireland*; that there is the Sheriff of *Dublin*, and ſome others that are now preſent in Court, that cannot be here, if we ſhould defer this Tryal, as the Priſoner doth deſire: and we do deſire that it may be referred till to morrow, we ſhall be ready to give in Evidence againſt him.

Judge. He hath ſpent three Days this Term already, this is the fourth: we would have proceeded now, but for his peremptory Challenge; but if we ſtay till to morrow, he muſt be content to be tried by a meaner Jury.

Mr. *Prynne.* This being a publick Caſe, we deſire a ſpeedy Progreſs in it: our Witneſſes have been long detained here, and cannot attend till the next Term, ſome of them being to depart within two Days.

Judge. A publick Caſe muſt have publick Juſtice on both ſides: for your Witneſſes, you ſhall ſtay your Witneſſes here. We muſt do that which the Law doth allow.

Ser. Whitfield. The Law does allow of his peremptory Challenge; we deſire to have a new Writ, and that it may be returnable to morrow. For the doing of it, we ſhall leave it to thoſe that are to proſecute it, and to the Sheriff. We ſee that this Cauſe cannot be tried this Day, we deſire we may have a ſpeedy End of it; there have been many Days ſpent in it, and we that are of Counſel for the King do deſire, that we may confer together, departing the Court for ſome Time; and when we have conferred together, we will return to the Court again, and then we will propound to you what Courſe we do deſire for the ſpeedy Tryal of this Cauſe.

To this Motion the Judge aſſented, and *Ser. Whitfield* and the reſt of the Counſel went to conſult together about it; and after a ſhort ſtay, upon their Return, *Ser. Whitfield* ſpake thus:

Ser. Whitfield. We that are Counſel for the King, have conſulted together with the Clerk of the Crown, and the Secretary; we have withdrawn our ſelves, and peruſed ſeveral Preſidents, and we do find by ſeveral Preſidents, that whereas a peremptory Challenge ſhall be, it is in the Power of the Court to order the Courſe of Tryal, and the Courſe is this: There goes a Writ to the Sheriff, that he ſhall diſtrain all them that make Default, and that he ſhall amove thoſe that are challenged by the Priſoner; and further, that he ſhall return ſo many more for the Tryal.

This

This we conceive to be the conſtant Courſe of this Court; and in this Caſe my Lord *Mac-Guire* having challenged 23 of the 24 we are to diſtrain the other that made Default, and to anoye the 23, that he hath challenged of them, and have a *Tales* returnable to morrow for a new Jury.

Ser. Roll. That was in *Standiſh*'s Caſe, and *Friar*'s Caſe.

Judge. I know the Court may grant a *Tales*, but the matter is, whether it can be done ſo ſoon as to morrow or no, if the Sheriff can do it to morrow.

Ser. Whitfield. We do find this in the Preſident of *Friar*, that in 7 *Hen.* 7. the Jury did appear on *Friday*, and all thoſe that did appear were challenged, and there was a *Diſtringas* returned the next Day, which was *Saturday*. It may be *immediate*.

Judge. Then make your *Diſtringas* againſt to morrow morning, make out a *Quadraginta Tales* againſt to morrow.

Mac. I deſire I may not be ſo ſeverely dealt with.

Judge. It hath been ſo oftentimes, and the Court doth proceed in theſe Caſes *de die in diem*, from day to day; and there is no difficulty in the granting of it, but whether the Sheriff can return it ſo ſoon.

If the King's Council will have it to morrow, the other Buſineſſes of the Court muſt be put off.

Hereupon the Priſoner was diſcharged, and a Rule granted to the Lieutenant of the Tower to bring him again the next day.

ON Tueſday *Febr.* 11. the Lord *Mac-Guire* was again brought to the King's-Bench Bar, where he made a Motion that his Plea of Peerage might be referred to another Court. To which it was anſwered,

Ser. Whitfield. We know not for what End this Motion is, and we know this, that this is no time for my Lord to make this Requeſt; for you know how far we have proceeded: he hath been arraigned, and indicted of high Treaſon, and one Jury he challenged, the other is returned, ſo as now he is in the Way of his Tryal; we are now to proceed with ſuch Evidence as we have, to proſecute inſtantly. We do not deſire this to be produced again, and if it be, we know not how it could be material one way or other.

After this the Lord *Mac-Guire* further urged the Court to the former Purpoſe: to which it was anſwered, that he was then brought to his Tryal as a Priſoner upon the Indictment, and that both the Lords and Commons had approved of the Opinion of the Court therein.

Mac. Pleaſe you Sir, One Word more: I deſire to appeal to the Lords.

Ser. Whitfield. When one is come here, to appeal to the Lords, that was never known: now you have put your ſelf upon the Country.

Mac. Under Favour, I conceive I may, to an higher Court.

Judge.

Judge. It cannot be granted, the Lords approved it: if you would have gone to an higher Court before, you might have taken your Courſe; now the Jury is returned, and you are appointed to be tried here.

After this the Lord *Mac-Guire* deſired further to Appeal, to which the Anſwer was:

Ser. Whit. Here lies no ſuch Appeal here, you are out of the Eccleſiaſtical Court, there is no ſuch Plea here; you are now upon the middle of your Tryal, we deſire you may go on, you have challenged 23. of the Jury already.

Judge. We have no ſuch Courſe in the Common Law; if a Man will Appeal from me, I cannot let him Appeal to any Man.

Upon this, theſe of the Jury following were named, which he challenged; *viz.*

George Hanger, Eſq;
Sir *Michael Wharton*,
James Hawley, Eſq;
George Smith Eſq;
Edmund Beſley Eſq;
William Ewrsby, Eſq;
Stephen Bourman Gent.
George Weaver-Baſſet,
J. Nicolls the younger,
Henry Walker, Gent.
Randolph Nicoll,
Andrew Brent.

Upon his challenging of theſe, which being added to the reſt, make 35 in all, the other Jury being about to be called, the Lord *Mac-Guire* moved:

Mac. Under Favour, I conceive, that my Lands being ſequeſtred, thoſe Men that have bought my Lands, ſhould not paſs upon my Tryal; and therefore I deſire they may make Anſwer to it upon Oath, whether any of them have adventured or no.

Ser. Whitfield. To deſire, that a whole Jury may be demanded ſuch a Queſtion upon their Oath, is that that hath not been known. If my Lord *Mac-Guire* have Cauſe now againſt any, he hath run out the Liberty which the Law gave him, to challenge 35 peremptorily. Now if he ſhould challenge any more, he muſt make a particular Challenge to every particular Man that comes to be ſworn, and he muſt have ſuch a Challenge notwithſtanding as is warrantable by Law; but this general Challenge is not warrantable by Law, and if it were particular, it were not warrantable neither.

Ser. Roll. If you will challenge any more, the Law does not debar you to ſhew Cauſe.

Mac. I conceive, that any that have given Money for *Ireland* for my Deſtruction, ought not to paſs againſt me.

Ser. Whit. This is for the King, this is for no particular Perſon whatſoever.

Mac. I beſeech you hear me in it.

Judge

Judge. You know this, that the King cannot grant it without the Consent of both Houses, and in this Case it may be put to the Jury to try upon their Oath. This far I shall agree, that if any of this Jury be to have any particular Benefit in *Ireland*, of Land or Goods by his Attainder, it is good; but if his Lands come to the King, and that the King is no Way bound to give it to any of them, it is no Challenge: Look the Statute.

M. Prynne. Under Favour, Mr. Justice *Bacon*, it doth not appear to the Court that the Prisoner hath any Lands or Goods in *Ireland*; and therefore no such Question is to be demanded of the Jury.

Judge. You may make needless Disputes upon it.

Then the Jury being accordingly required to answer upon Oath, whether they had adventured, or had any Share in *Ireland* for the Rebels Land; *Mac-Guire* desired the Question might be, whether they themselves, their Children, or Brothers? But that would not be agreed unto, as being unreasonable. Then the Jury following was sworn:

I. Carpenter,
John Cooper,
A. Cordall,
Rich. Atkinson,
Josias Hendall,
William Greenwood,
William Barnes,
Robert Stiles,
George Norfolk,
Edw. Hudson,
John Wait,
Esah Risby.

The Oath which they took, was this:

You shall well and truly try, and true Deliverance make, between our Sovereign Lord the King, and Connor Mac-Guire, *Esq; now Prisoner at the Bar, and a true Verdict give according to your Evidence.*

The Jury being sworn, *Mac-Guire* moved that he might have a Jury of 24; to which it was answered,

Judge. There have been 40 named.

Mac. Under Favour, I conceive, I ought to be tried by 24; there were so many returned at first.

Judge. They returned 24; that is, because if any of them did fail, and some may be challenged, then there might be 12 left.

Mac. Under Favour, I conceive, there should be 24 now left for my Tryal.

Judge. You are deceived in that. You challenged 23, and so there were 40 more added; now you have challenged 12 of this 40, and out of them there remains so many as will make up a Jury of 12.

Then the Court proceeded to his Tryal, and the Indictment against him was read. After which, the Court proceeded, saying:

Gentlemen of the Jury, Upon this Indictment he hath been arraigned, and to his Arraignment he hath pleaded, *Not Guilty*, and thereupon put himself upon his Country; and your Charge is, to enquire whether he be guilty of the Indictments, or any of them: If you find him *Not Guilty*, you are to declare it; if *Guilty*, then you are to give in Evidence against him.

M. N. Mr. *Judge Bacon*. You observe by the Record that hath been read to you, that the Prisoner at the Bar stands indicted of several Treasons, wherein it is found, That *Connor Mac-Guire*, &c. as before in the Indictment. Now, Gentlemen, you of the Jury, if it shall be proved to you, that the Prisoner at the Bar is guilty of all, or any of these Treasons, then you are to give your Evidence.

Then these Witnesses following were sworn to give in Evidence against the Prisoner:

The Lord *Blaney*,	Sir *Francis Hamilton*,	*John Carmicks*,	
Lady *Caulfield*,	Sir *Edward Borlacey*,	*Walter Gubson*,	
Sir *Arthur Loftus*,	Sir *William Cole*,	*M. Banbury*,	
Sir *John Temple*,	Sir *Charles Coot*,	Capt. *Mich. Balfoure*,	
Sir *William Stewart*,	Mrs. *Wordrofe*,	Captain *Berisford*.	

Sir *William Cole*'s Testimony.

Ser. Whitfield. You know (Sir *William Cole*) a great many of their Names, which you have heard that were Conspirators with this Lord; what Religion were they of?

Sir *W. Cole.* They were all Papists.

Ser. Whitfield. Who were they?

Sir *W. Cole.* The Lord *Mac-Guire*, Sir *Phil. O Neale*, *Roger Moore*, &c.

Ser. Whitfield. Sir *Francis Hamilton*, Upon what Occasion was it, that the Conspirators got an Order to view the Magazine?

Sir *F. Hamilton.* I was a Member of the House of Commons there, and I remember very well, there came a Message from the House of Lords to the House of Commons, to let them know, that there was some Plot for the blowing up of the Parliament House in *Ireland*, and they sent a Message, to desire that they might search under the Parliament-House: And there was a Search made, and (as I remember) the Lord *Mac-Guire* was one of the Committee from the House of Lords made Search there; but what they found, I do not know. Afterwards they desired that they might search the Castle of *Dublin*, and other Magazines.

Counsel. What was the Cause?

Sir

Sir *F. Hamilton.* There was a Coachman of my Lord of *Strafford*'s that had uttered ſome big Words, (as was given out) That the Parliament Houſe ſhould be blown up, but what was the Ground, I am perſwaded in my Conſcience, it was to know where the Store and Ammunition lay, that they might know where to ſurprize it.

Sir *William Steward*'s Teſtimony.

I was one of the Committee that was ſent by the Parliament, and by Order from the Houſe of Lords, to ſearch the Parliament Houſe, and the Lord *Mac-Guire* was one of the Lords: They made a very ſtrict Search, and then they enquired for the King's Magazine, and I believe my Lord *Mac-Guire* now here was one of the Committee that went to ſearch for the Houſe of Lords, and he did ſearch very narrowly, and they were deſirous to know where the Store was.

The Lord *Blaney*'s Teſtimony.

Counſel. Whether this Search were moved by the Lord *Fingball* and what was the End of it?

L. *Blaney.* So near as I can, I will give you the Buſineſs, it is ſo long ago. This I remember, that there was one of the Lords Houſe, whether it were my Lord *Fingball*, or my Lord *Macary*, moved it, I cannot certainly depoſe, but I am ſure it was one of them. The Occaſion was, one of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Coachmen ſaid, he hoped to ſee ſome of the Lords blown up for it; it was about a Fortnight after the Earl of *Strafford* was beheaded here. Thereupon they got an Order for it, and ſo they went down, and they did not find the Powder, but they made as narrow a Search as ever any was. I asked what the meaning was of this, for we had ſtrange Cenſures of it our ſelves. Says of them, the Lord *Clamorris*, they are afraid of a Powder-Plot of the Proteſtants. I anſwered, that I had heard of a Powder-Plot of the Papiſts, but never of the Proteſtants in my Life. But if you ask the Reaſon of it, it was to aſſure themſelves of their Strength, for we found by woful Experience afterwards, it was their End. My Lord *Borlace* ſaid, let them not be afraid, for upon my Honour there is no Powder below. It is a great Houſe, the Houſe of Commons ſit on one ſide, and the Lords on the other, and the Block-Houſe in the middle.

Counſel. What Religion is my Lord *Fingball*, and my Lord *Clamorris* of?

L. *Blaney.* The Lord *Fingball* is a Papiſt, and *Glamorris* a peſtiferous Papiſt!

Ser. Whitfield. All Papiſts! we ſhall now read the Examination of the manner of his taking, and then his own Examination.

The first we shall read, is this of *Mr. Woodcock*, that was Sheriff of *Dublin*; he was in Town, but he could not stay, but he was examined before this Court.

The Information of John Woodcock *the 27th of* October, 1644. *taken upon Oath before Justice* Bacon.

THE said Examinate deposeth and saith, That he, being one of the Sheriffs of the said City of *Dublin*, in the Year 1641. having Notice given him in the Night, upon the 23d of *October* in the same Year, of some great Design intended, did by vertue of his Office walk up and down the City that Night, and coming to the House of one *Nevill*, a Chirurgeon in *Castle-street*, he understood by the said *Nevill*, that the Lord *Mac-Guire* with some 10. or 12. others were there. This Examinate told him, it was fit for his Guests to be in Bed at that Time of Night; but the said *Nevill* did bring this Examinate word, that the Lord *Mac-Guire* and his Company were then going to Bed. The said Examinate departed, setting a Watch near his House; by which Watch he was informed, that the said Lord *Mac-Guire* and the rest were gone from the House, and were at the House of one *Keon*, a Taylor. Whereupon he searched the said House, and there found some Hatchets with the Helves newly cut off close to the Hatchets, five Pattonels, five or six Swords, three or four small Pistols, five or six Skeins, with other Arms of the Lord *Mac-Guire*'s in an House of Offine in the said House; in another Place divers Pole-Axes, and also behind a Hen-Roost some great Weapons with sharp Pikes of Iron in one End of them, the said *Keon* affirming that he knew nothing of any of the Particulars before mentioned, nor how they came in his House. The said Examinate shewed all the said Instruments unto the said Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*; and thereupon the said Lords Justices and Council, commanded Search to be made for the said Lord *Mac-Guire*. Upon which the said Examinate, searching narrowly for him, at last found him in a Cock-Loft, with a Cloak wrapt about him, standing by a Bed, the Door lockt upon him, there being no Key to be found, as also the Master of the House flying away, and making an Escape to the Enemy.

After this, the Lord *Mac-Guire*'s own Examination was read, taken the 26th of *March*, 1644. (for as Sir *John Temple* declared to the Court, the Lord *Mac-Guire* was then brought to the Council-Board, and they could get nothing out of him) whereupon he was sent back to Prison for that Time.

The

The Examination of Connor *Lord* Mac-Guire, *Baron of* Enniskillen, *taken before us,* Charles *Lord* Lambert, *and Sir* Robert Meredith, *Knight, Chancellour of His Majesty's Court of* Exchequer, *the 26th Day of* March, 1642, *by Direction of the Right Honourable the Lords Justices and Council.*

WHO being examined, saith, That about the Time when Mr. *John* [illegible] *Bellew* came out of *England* with the Commission for the continuance of the present Parliament, *Roger Moore* in the said *Moore*'s Chamber in the House of one *Peter du Ostre* of this City, acquainted him, this Examinate, that if the Irish would rise, they might make their own Condition, for the regaining of their own Lands, and Freedom of their Religion. At which time the said *Moore* also acquainted him this Examinate, that he had spoken with sundry of *Leinster*, who would be ready for that Purpose, and withal told him, this Examinate, that he was assured a good Part of *Connaught* would do this like; and thereupon moved this Examinate to join likewise with them, with all he could make: Unto which Motion he, this Examinate, yielded. And the next Day following there was a meeting in his, the said *Moore*'s Chamber, aforesaid, where were Col. *Mac-Bryan*, *Macmahon*, *Birleigh O Neale*, *Philip Mac-Hugh O Reily*, this Examinate, and *Roger Moore*, where Discourse was had of that Business, yet nothing concluded on, save that *Roger Moore* and the rest should go and prepare their Parties. And this Examinate further saith, That about *May* last, he, this Examinate, *Roger Moore*, *Philip O Reily*, and *Roger Mac-Guire*, this Examinate's Brother, dispatched a Priest, one *Teddie O Conley*, who lived in *Leinster*, unto *Owen O Neale*, then residing to acquaint him with the Business concerning the general Rebellion then in Preparation; which said Priest returned about a Month before the Time appointed for Execution thereof. And the Answer which the said Priest brought from the said *Owen O Neale* was, That he would (within fifteen Days after the People were up) be with him, with his best Assistance and Arms. And it being demanded why the said *Owen* should bring Arms, considering that the Castle of *Dublin* was to be taken, with the Arms therein, this Examinate answered, that they so provided for Arms, that they might not want any, in Case they could not take the said Castle, whereof they doubted. And this Examinate acknowledgeth, that the Castle of *Dublin* was to have been surprised by himself, Capt. *Brian O Neale*, Capt. *Con O Neale*, Capt. *Macmahone*, one *Owen O Reily*, *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Macmahone*, Col. *Plunket*, and Capt. *Fox*; and likewise further acknowledgeth, that *Hugh Mac-Phelim*, Capt. *Con O Neale*, and *Bryan O Neale*, brought from *Owen O Neale*, out of *Flanders*, the very same Message which the said Priest brought. And this

Examinate

Examinate further ſaith, that he was told by *Roger Moore*, that a great Man was in the Plot, but he might not name him for the preſent. And at another Time, and during the ſitting of the Parliament the laſt Summer, he, this Examinate, was informed by one *John Barnwell*, a Franciſcan Friar, then reſident in this City, that thoſe of the *Pale* were alſo privy unto the Plot, (meaning the preſent Rebellion.) And laſtly ſaith, That of thoſe Perſons who came to attend him, this Examinate, for the Surpriſe of the ſaid Caſtle of *Dublin*, only *Cohonogh Mac-Guire* was privy unto the Buſineſs in Hand; and that the laſt meeting (when the Day appointed for Execution thereof was reſolved on) was at *Logh-Roſſe*, where were preſent only *Ever Macmahone*, Vicar General of the Dioceſs of *Clogher*; *Thomas Mac-Kearnan*, a Friar of *Dundalke*, Sir *Phelim O Neale*, *Roger Moore*, and *Bryan O Neale*.

Concordat cum Originali. *Charles Lambert.*
Ex. per Part. Harris. *Robert Meredith.*

This being read, and opened unto the Jury, being the Lord *Mac-Guire's* free and voluntary Confeſſion, which he afterwards acknowledged ſince his coming to the Tower, *viz.*

Memorandum, That this within written being ſhewed and read unto the within named Lord *Mac-Guire*, and himſelf having peruſed the ſame, his Lordſhip did acknowledge the ſame to be true in all Things, ſaving that he doth not now acknowledge that *Barnard* told him, that thoſe of the *Pale* were privy to the Plot; neither doth acknowledge that *Cohonogh Mac-Guire* was privy to the Plot before his coming to *Dublin*.

This Examination and Acknowledgment was made and taken the 22*d Day of* June 1642. Anno Regni Caroli Regis decimo Octavo, *before Us.*

John Bramſtone, *Thomas Mallet.*

In the Preſence of
John Conyers,
William Ayloffe,
Nathaniel Finch.

June 24. 1642. *The Examination of* Connor *Lord* Mac-Guire, *Baron of* Enniskillen, *taken before Sir* John Bramſtone, *Knight, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench.*

WHO ſaith, That he is of the Age of 26 Years and upwards, and that he was born in the County of *Fermanagh* in *Ireland*; and ſaith, that his Examination taken at *Dublin* the 26th Day of *March*, 1642. before *Charles*

Charles Lord *Lambert*, and Sir *Robert Meredith*, with his Acknowledgment thereof the 22d of *June*, before Judge *Bramſtone*, and Juſtice *Mallet*, is true in ſuch manner as in the ſaid Examination and Acknowledgment is expreſſed.

Connor Mac-Guire.

The Examination of Cornelius Mac-Guire, *Lord Baron of* Enniskillen *in* Ireland, *taken before* Iſaac Pennington, *Eſq; Lieutenant of the Tower of* London, *and* Lawrance Whitaker, *Eſq; two of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace, for the County of* Middleſex, *the firſt Day* October, 1644.

HE denieth the receiving of any Letters or Meſſages out of *England* before the Rebellion, nor did he ever hear of any. He ſaith, he was but a mean Inſtrument in the Deſign in *Ireland*; he confeſſeth, he intended to ſeiſe upon the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and the Magazine there, and keep it till they had Redreſs of ſome Grievances, which they purpoſed to propound to the Parliament there; one whereof was, to have a Toleration of the Roman Catholick Religion. He confeſſeth, that he came accidentally to *Philip O Rely*'s Houſe, as he came up to *Dublin*; and, as he remembreth, *Macmahone* was then there, and that his Intention of coming up to *Dublin*, was to put the aforeſaid Deſign in Execution, and that then and there, they had Speech about that Deſign; but he remembreth not the Particulars: Which Deſign was to be put in Execution the 22d Day of *October* in that Year; and that he was taken there that very Day, being *Saturday*, upon Search made for him, carried before the Lords Juſtices, Examined, Committed, and ſent over into *England*.

He ſaith further, that he made his Eſcape out of the Tower of *London* upon Sunday the 18th of *Auguſt* laſt, about Four of the Clock in the Morning.

Lawrence Whitaker, *Iſaac Pennington.*

John Garmicks's Teſtimony.

THAT upon the 21ſt of *October*, 1641. *Fergus O Howen*, one of the Followers of *Brian Mac-Guire*, Eſq; came to his Chamber in the Caſtle of *Enniskillen*, and after he had endeavoured to bind him to keep ſecret a Matter of great Concernment, which *Fergus* ſaid he had to diſcloſe, and particularly to conceal it from Sir *William Cole*, and all other *Engliſhmen*; This Examinate told him, he would be ſecret ſo far as it went with his Allegiance and Conſcience. He diſcovered unto the ſaid Examinate, that the Lord *Mac-Guire* and *Hugh Oge Macmahone*, accompanied with ſeveral *Iriſhmen* of the Counties of *Fermanagh* and *Monaghan*, did take their Journies out of the ſaid Counties upon the 19th and 20th Days of

of *October*, 1641. to the City of *Dublin*, with Resolution and Intent to murther and kill His Highness's Lords Justices and Council of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and the rest of the Protestants there; and also to possess themselves of the City of *Dublin*, and to put all the Protestants there likewise to the Sword: And that to that Effect there were other great Men, and others of the Papists of that Kingdom to repair unto, and meet them in *Dublin* on Saturday, 23 *October* 1641. or thereabouts; and that all the Castles, Forts, Sea-Ports and Holds that were in the Possession of the Protestants in the several Counties and Provinces in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, were then also designed and resolved to be surprised and taken by the *Irish* Papists; and the Protestants in every of those Castles, Forts, Sea-Ports and Holds, to be then also put all to the Sword by the *Irish* Papists in *Ireland* in their own several Parts and Limits, by Men thereunto chiefly and particularly appointed by the Contrivers thereof: And that especially the Town and Castle of *Enniskillen*, with the rest, would be taken, and and all the Protestants in it put to the Sword; and therefore advised the Examinate to get himself and Goods out of the Town: Whereat the Examinate smiling, *Fergus* bid him not to slight it, for he could assure those Things would come to pass in seven Days, or else he would be bound to lose his Head. Whereupon the said *Fergus O Howen* departed, and the Examinate acquainting Sir *William Cole* with it, there came one *Flartagh Mac-Hugh*, a Gentleman and Freeholder of that County, and affirms to the same Effect to Sir *William Cole*, that the Plot for surprising of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, the Castle of *Enniskillen*, and all the Castles and Strengths in *Ireland*, was to be put in full Execution by the Papists *October* 22 and 23, 1641. throughout the said Kingdom; and that *Brian Mac-Conaghe Mac-Guire*, Esq; did send him the said *Flartah Mac-Hugh* to give Notice and Warning thereof to the said Sir *William Cole*, whom he earnestly desired to be upon his Guard upon Friday the 22d and Saturday the 23d of *October*; for the Lord *Mac-Guire* was gone with *Macmahone* and others that Week with Purpose to possess themselves of the Castle and City of *Dublin*, and the Lord *Mac-Guire* had written his Letters to *Con O Bourke*, *Owen O Rorcicke*, *Murtagh Oge O Fantagon*, and others, to go on with that Plot in those Parts; and had appointed his Brother *Rori Mac-Guire* (in his Absence) to command the *Irish* Papists in the County of *Fermanagh*, for the surprising of the Castles and Houses of the Protestants. Of all which Sir *William* advertised the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland* the same Day. And this Examinate saith, that Captain *Mac-Hugh*, seven or eight Days before the Rebellion brake forth, declared, That the Lord *Mac-Guire* posted Letters, and rode up and down to divers Gentlemen, and others of that County, to be very Active in the Business. That it was averred upon the Oaths of *Flartagh Mac-Hugh*,

Mac-Hugh, *John Oge Mac-Hugh*, and *Terlagh Oge Mac-Hugh*, before the ſaid Sir *William Cole*, that one hundred and fifty Men were appointed to ſurpriſe the Caſtle of *Enniskillen*, under the leading of *Don Mac-Guire*, and *Rori Mac-Guire*, who were to murder the ſaid Sir *William Cole*, and his Wife, Children, and Servants, and throw them over the Wall into the River, and then to do the like unto the Proteſtants in the Town and Corporation of *Enniskillen*: For which Service they were not only to have the Spoil and Riches of the ſaid Caſtle and Town, but to have alſo the Barony of *Clanawley* granted and confirmed in Fee to them and their Heirs, from the ſaid Lord *Mac-Guire* and his Heirs. The Examinate then alſo produced a Letter written in *Iriſh*, from the Lord *Mac-Guire*, to his Couſin *Brian Mac-Guire*, wherein taking Notice, that he was abundantly inclined to the *Engliſh*, which did very much trouble him; and therefore deſired him to baniſh ſuch Thoughts out of his Mind, and not to purſue thoſe Reſolutions which in the End might be his own Deſtruction, as he thought it would be to all thoſe that did not appear.

Preſently after, upon the 20th of *October*, one Captain *Rori Mac-Guire* took upon him the managing of all Buſineſſes in his Abſence; he fortifies firſt the Caſtle *Haſen*, the Houſe wherein he dwelt himſelf, he took in the Caſtle of one *Edward Aldrith*, Eſq; he put out all the *Engliſh* there; he went to the Town, burnt that, but kill'd none of the Men; went thence to another Place, and hanged one *Eleazar* M. one that was Clark of the Peace of the County; and from thence he went to *Newtown*, four Miles off from it, took in the Town, ſtript and diſarmed all the Proteſtants that were in the Church, the next Day after marched away, and killed and deſtroyed moſt of the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts; murthered *Arthur Champion*, Eſq; and many more. Twenty Two Caſtles were ſeized upon, and the Church of *Monah*, with 18 Proteſtants burnt in it: 764 Proteſtants were deſtroyed in that County; and I did hear there was about 152000, that they had deſtroyed in that Province of *Ulſter*, in the firſt four Months of the Rebellion.

John Carmick.

Then Sir *William Cole* (being preſent in Court) gave in his Evidence, much to the ſame Effect as in *Carmicks*'s Teſtimony.

Ser. Whitfield. We deſire to ſhorten, we have a great many Witneſſes; we ſhall go upon theſe Particulars. Firſt, Captain *O Neale*'s landing in *Ireland*, and what he brought with him. Secondly, *Keilagh* and *Cragan*. Laſtly, how long beſieged, and how many murdered:

Then Sir *William Steward* gave in Teſtimony to this Effect:

That *Con Owen O Neale* landed in *July* the ſame Year the Rebellion began, brought many Commanders, much Arms and Ammunition; many of his Commanders, Nine of the chief of them, were taken Priſoners at one Battle.

Ser. Whitfield. It is his own Confeſſion, That he ſent a Prieſt over to fetch Arms to come into *Ireland*.

[Then the Lady *Caulfield* was deſired to declare her Knowledge concerning the taking of *Charlemont*-Caſtle.]

Lady *Caulfield.* The 23d of *October*, 1641. Sir *Phelim O Neale* and others came into the Caſtle, they ſeiſed upon all, murdered his Servants; and thoſe that were alive, they bound them, and put them in Priſon; and at that time, Sir *Phelim O Neale* himſelf, and other of his Companions, told her, *That* Dublin *Caſtle and City, and moſt other Forts of* Ireland *were ſurpriſed by their Confederates the Papiſts; and that he was ſorry for his Couſin the Lord* Mac-Guire, *and that he was afraid he was taken.*

Ser. Whitfield. What was done with my Lord *Caulfield?*

Lady Caulfield. He was murdered; he beg'd for his Life, and they durſt not but do it.

Ser. Whitfield. When Sir *Phelim O Neale* had taken my Lord *Caulfield*, then they got this Lady to write to the Lords Juſtices, that my Lord *Mac-Guire* might be exchanged for her Son, but that would not be; and thereupon they murdered my Lord *Caulfield*, *Francis Davies*, and others.

Mrs. *Mary Wordroſe*'s Teſtimony.

That he came on Friday Night about 10 or 11 a Clock, to break into the Caſtle; I hearing the Noiſe, asked what was the matter? I went to call up ſome of our Gentlemen; when I came in again, they had taken ſome of our Gentlemen, and bound them.

She alſo teſtified the murdering of the Lord *Caulfield*, *Francis Davies*, and others; and the former Words concerning the Lord *Mac-Guire*.

Ser. Whitfield. Theſe two Witneſſes prove that of *Charlemont*, how far the Rebels owned the Lord *Mac-Guire*, as to endeavour his Exchange. We ſhall now come to the other Caſtles, how long they beſieged them, and who was murdered.

Walter *Gabſon*'s Teſtimony.

They beſieged it a quarter of a Year before they took it; divers of the chief Conſpirators, and *Powell*, and *Coſens*, took the Caſtle by Force in an hoſtile manner.

Sir

Sir *Francis Hamilton*'s Teſtimony.

Philip O Rely came to the Caſtle, to *Keilagh* and *Cregan* Caſtles, and they lay before it a quarter of a Year, with 2000 or 3000 Men, ſometimes 1500, but never leſs.

Sir *Charles Coot*'s Teſtimony concerning the Generality of the Rebellion.

Sir *Phelim O Neale* and *Roger Moore* were the Actors in the Maſſacres, and by publick Directions of ſome in Place, and of the Titulary Biſhops, for the ſending of an exact Account of what Perſons were murdered throughout all *Ulſter*, a fourth Part of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, to the Pariſh Prieſts in every Pariſh; and they ſent in a particular Account of it, and the Account was, 104700 in one Province, in the firſt three Months of the Rebellion.

Ser. Whitfield. What ſay you concerning the General Council, and the Pope's Bull.

Sir *Charles Coot.* The Supreme Council they took up a new Form of Government upon them of their own; and by this Authority it was granted to the Lady *Mac-Guire*, that ſhe ſhould have the Rent of ſuch Lands in Recompence of the Loſs that he was at in their Cauſes. They have made ſeveral Judges of their own Courts: They Print, they Coin, they do all in their own Names.

The Copy of the Pope's Bull.

Ad futuram Rei Memoriam.

Urbanus Octavus, &c.

HAVING taken into our ſerious Conſideration the great Zeal of the *Iriſh* towards the propagating of the Catholick Faith, and the Piety of the Catholick Warriors in the ſeveral Armies of that Kingdom, (which was for that ſingular Fervency in the true Worſhip of God, and notable Care had formerly in the like Caſe, by the Inhabitants thereof, for the Maintenance and Preſervation of the ſame Orthodox Faith, called of old, *The Land of Saints*;) and having got certain Notice how, in Imitation of their Godly and Worthy Anceſtors, they endeavour by Force of Arms to deliver their thralled Nation from the Oppreſſions, and grievous Injuries of the Hereticks, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted, and heavily burthened, and gallantly do in them what lieth to extirpate, and totally root out thoſe Workers of Iniquity, who in the Kingdom of *Ireland* had infected, and always ſtriving to infect the Maſs of Catholick Purity, with the peſtiferous Leaven of their Heretical Contagion: We therefore being willing to cheriſh them with the Gifts of thoſe Spiritual Graces, whereof by God we are ordained the only diſpoſers on Earth, by the Mercy of the ſame Almighty God, truſting in the Authority of the bleſſed Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*; and by Vertue of that Power of binding and looſing of Souls, which God was pleaſed (without our deſerving) to confer upon us; To all and every one of the faithful Chriſtians in the foreſaid Kingdom of *Ireland* now, and for the Time militating againſt the Hereticks, and other Enemies of the Catholick Faith, they being truly and ſincerely penitent, after Confeſſion, and the Spiritual Refreſhing of themſelves with the Sacred Communion of the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*, do grant a full and plenary Indulgence, and abſolute Remiſſion for all their Sins, and ſuch as in the holy Time of Jubilee,

ſee, is uſual to be granted to thoſe that devoutly viſit a certain Number of priviledged Churches, within and without the Walls of our City of *Rome*: by the Tenour of which preſent Letters, for once only and no more, we freely beſtow the Favour of this Abſolution, upon all and every one of them; and withal, deſiring heartily all the faithful in *Chriſt*, now in Arms as aforeſaid, to be Partakers of this moſt precious Treaſure.

To all and every one of theſe foreſaid faithful Chriſtians, we grant Licenſe, and give Power to chooſe into themſelves, for this Effect, any fit Confeſſor, whether a ſecular Prieſt, or a Regular of ſome Order; as likewiſe any other ſelected Perſon approved of by the Ordinary of the Place; Who, after a diligent hearing of their Confeſſions, ſhall have power to liberate and abſolve them from Excommunication, Suſpenſion, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Sentences and Cenſures, by whomſoever, or for what Cauſe ſoever pronounced, or inflicted upon them; as alſo from all Sins, Treſpaſſes, Tranſgreſſions, Crimes and Delinquencies, how heinous and atrocious ſoever they be, not omitting thoſe very Enormities in the moſt peculiar Caſes, which by any whatſoever former Conſtitutions of ours, or of our Predeceſſor Popes (than which we will have theſe to be no leſs valued in every Point) were deſigned to be reſerved to the Ordinary, or to the Apoſtolick See, from all which the Confeſſor ſhall hereby have Power granted him to abſolve the foreſaid Catholicks at the Bar of Conſcience, and in that Senſe only. And furthermore, we give them power to exchange what Vow or Vows ſoever they were formerly aſtricted to, (thoſe of Religion and Chaſtity excepted) into any other pious and good Work or Works, impoſed or to be impoſed on them, and every one of them to perform in all the aforeſaid Caſes by a wholſom Penance, according to the Mind and Will of the Confeſſor.

Therefore, by the Tenour of theſe preſent Letters, and by the Vertue of that Holy ſtrict Obedience, wherein all Chriſtians are bound unto Us, we Charge and Command all and every one of the Reverend Brethren, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſtical Prelates, and whatſoever Ordinaries of Places now reſiding in *Ireland*, together with all Vicars, Subſtitutes and Officials under them; or theſe failing, We command all ſuch to whom in thoſe Places the Care of Souls is incumbent; that as ſoon as they ſhall have received the Copies of theſe our Letters, they ſhall forthwith without any Stop or Delay, publiſh them, and cauſe them to be publiſhed throughout all their Churches, Dioceſſes, Provinces, Countries, Cities, Towns, Lands, Villages, and Places whatſoever.

Nevertheleſs, we do not intend by theſe preſent Letters, where any publick or ſecret Irregularity is made known, or any Defection, Apoſtacy, Incapacity or Inability in any manner of way contracted, to diſpenſe therewith, or grant to any other, any Power or Faculty of Diſpenſation, Rehabiliation,

habiliation, or reſtoring the Delinquent to his former Condition, thoug but at the Bar of Conſcience: Neither can nor ſhould theſe our preſen Letters avail or be ſteadable to thoſe, who by us and the Apoſtolic See, or by any Prelate or Eccleſiaſtick Judge, have been excommunicated ſuſpended, interdicted, or declared, and publickly denounced to have juſtl incurred the Sentences and Cenſures of the Church, till firſt they have ſatisfied and agreed with the Parties therein concerned, notwithſtanding all other Conſtitutions and Apoſtolical Ordinations; whereby, nevertheleſs, the Faculty of Abſolution in theſe, as well as other expreſſed Caſes is ſo reſerved to his Holineſs, the Pope, for the Time being, that no kind of Jubilee nor Power of granting ſuch Indulgences can in any ſort avail, unleſs expreſs mention be made of the Fault or Faults in particular, and the whole Tenour of them fully deduced by an individual Relation from Word to Word, and not by general Clauſes importing the ſame thing. This, or ſome other requiſite Form of the like Nature being carefully obſerved, we in that Caſe eſpecially, expreſly, and namely, by the Effect of theſe Preſents, do totally aboliſh and remit them all and every one of them their Offences, notwithſtanding any Thing to the contrary.

Now that theſe principal Letters of ours, which cannot be conveniently brought to every Place, may the ſooner come to the Notice of all, Our Will and Pleaſure is, that any whatſoever Copies or Tranſumpts, whether Written or Printed, that are ſubſcribed by the Hand of a publick Notary, and which have the Seal of ſome eminent Perſon in Eccleſiaſtical Dignity affixed thereunto, be of the ſame Force, Power, and Authority, and have the like Credit in every Reſpect given unto them, as would be to theſe our principal Letters, if they were ſhewed and exhibited.

Dated at *Rome* in the Vatican, or St. *Peter*'s Palace, the 25th of *May*, 1643. and in the 20th Year of our Pontificate.

M. A. Maraldus.

Ser. Whitfield. We have troubled you with a long Relation of the Actions of the Confederates with the Lord *Mac-Guire*, though not done in his own Perſon, and his own particular Act; but for this that was done by the Generality, I heard my Lord ſay at the Bar, What is that to me? Yes, my Lord, This is to you; you were one of the Conſpirators in the firſt Plot, and you contrived the Buſineſs. And that had been Treaſon alone, to ſend the Prieſt to fetch *Owen O Neale* into *Ireland*, with Arms and Soldiers: But you contrived this, and conſpired it, and you are as guilty in Law, of all theſe cruel Murders, and Burnings in every place:

For

for the Law of *England* is, in Treason you are all Principals, no Accessaries. Your Son was there, your Lady is rewarded; for the supreme Council they have taken Care of you: Why! Because you were one of the first Complotters of it; and this will light upon you, and fall very heavy. And for your Exchange, it was propounded for the Lord *Caulfield*; but when they could not have that agreed upon, then what becomes of the poor Lord *Caulfield?* murdered too! And you see what Encouragement you have from the Complotters, and from the Devil too; for they were both together in it. And now you have seen the Indictment fully made good.

Then the Lord *Mac-Guire* proceeded to make his Defence, wherein he first of all denied his Examination, (altho' testified as before by so many credible Witnesses) and said, that he knew no such Examination.

That at the Time of his Apprehension at *Dublin*, he came about his own particular Occasions, as his Estate was in Danger, if he did not follow it; that because he was found about the City, he was therefore apprehended; That his Lodging was not within the City, but he lodged without the City; That he did lodge at Mr. *Nevill's* House formerly, but not at this Time; That for some of the Places mentioned, where he should be about the Conspiracy, he had not been there a Year before, he was certain of it. For the Number of Protestants that were mentioned to be slain, he said he did not think there were so many Protestants in the whole Kingdom. That he was continually either at his own House, or at *Dublin*, and knew nothing of the Plot but by Hear-say.

Judge. You confess in your Examination, when the Day was for the rising, that you were in the Conspiracy, and appointed for the taking of *Dublin* Castle; and that you were taken when you came about it: Also you rode about it, and provided Arms.

Mac. I was in the House in the Cock-loft where I was taken; I did not know where any Army was.

Ser. Whitfield. My Lord *Mac-Guire* does forget himself, what he acknowledges under his own Hand.

Then the Examination being shewed him, he said, There is my Name but not my Hand.

Judge. I am sorry to hear it; I did rather expect, that you should have acknowledged it; Here are two able Witnesses that can testifie it against you; your denying your own Hand, which is so manifestly proved, will be a great Discredit to what you say: You acknowledged it at two several Times.

Mac. What did I acknowledge?

Judge. You say that you came to *Dublin* to settle your Estate: By your own Examination you acknowledge, That the Castle of *Dublin* was to be surprised by your self.

Judge.

Judge. It is now Time we ſhould draw to the Jury: You hear my Lord *Bramſtone* and my Brother *Finch* here juſtifie it to you.

Then my Lord *Mac-Guire*'s Examination was ſhewed to my Lord *Blaney*, being preſent in Court, demanding whether he thought it to be *Mac-Guire*'s Hand or no?

Lord *Blaney.* It is my Lord's own Hand, he hath written to me many Letters.

Mac. I don't think I have written many Letters to your Lordſhip.

Judge. Gentlemen of the Jury, you may go to the Buſineſs; If there were nothing but that you ſee in this Caſe, but what is in the Examination, if you believe it to be his; his Confeſſion does acknowledge it: You hear this by the Teſtimony of my Lord *Bramſtone*, and my Brother *Finch* expreſly, that were preſent when he did acknowledge it, and ſet his Hand to it; and yet you ſee, though it is here proved by my Lord *Blaney*, he denies it. If you find this to be true, here is Treaſon enough, and too much too; for he does here confeſs, That *Roger Moore* did acquaint him, That if the *Iriſh* did riſe, they might make their own Conditions for regaining their Lands: And he acquainted him, That he had ſpoken with ſundry in *Leinſter*, that would be ready for that Purpoſe; and that a great Part of *Conaught* would do the like: And then moved him (this Lord) the Priſoner at the Bar, to join likewiſe with him, which he did; ſo then was the Plot. The next Day they met; he goes to *Moore*'s Chamber again, where Col. *Mac-Brian*, *Macmahone*, and others, had Diſcourſe again about it: Then he ſays, That they did ſend over to *Owen O Neal*, to acquaint him concerning the general Rebellion in *Ireland*, then in Preparation. He confeſſes expreſly, That being demanded why the ſaid *Owen* ſhould bring over Arms, ſeeing the Caſtle of *Dublin* was to be ſurpriſed? He anſwered, That they ſo provided Arms, that they might not want any Thing, if they ſhould not take it, whereof they doubted. And then you have him acknowledging, that the Caſtle of *Dublin* was to be ſurpriſed by himſelf, and Captain *Brian O Neale*, and others. Theſe Words ſhew here expreſly, That the Day whereon the Execution was appointed, by the Lord *Mac-Guire*'s own Confeſſion, he was come to *Dublin* for the Surpriſe of the Caſtle. So that it is apparent, that he was about this Plot expreſly. If this be true, That you did conſpire to make War or Rebellion within that Kingdom, though you were taken your ſelf before it was executed, yet it was your own Conſpiracy: And beſides, endeavouring after that to bring it to Perfection, by ſending over for Arms; all theſe do diſcover your own Intention to execute it.

Mac. I confeſs it not, I refer my ſelf to the Jury.

Judge. Gentlemen, you are to know, that to Conſpire to raiſe a War, if any of that Conſpiracy do Act it, as you ſee here Sir *Phelim O Neale* did,

lid, if you obſerve the Teſtimony of my Lady *Caulfield*, he came and ſurpriſed the Caſtle of *Charlemont*, and then it was given out, that my Lord *Mac-Guire* had taken *Dublin*; ſo that though it did not take effect, that which is done by any, is Teſtimony enough.

Go together and conſider of it.

Upon this the Jury went together, and ſtaying a ſhort Space, returned their Verdict, which was, That they found him guilty of all the Treaſons according to the Indictment.

Clark. Connor Mac-Guire, alias *Cornelius Mac-Guire*, thou haſt been indicted for ſeveral high Treaſons, and thou haſt been arraigned. Upon the Arraignment thou haſt pleaded, Not Guilty; and for thy Tryal haſt put thy ſelf upon thy Country, which Country have found thee Guilty, according to the Indictment; therefore prepare thy ſelf to receive the Sentence.

Mac. I deſire to know by what Law?

Judge. The Law is well enough known: That is a Treaſon within the Statute without Doubt.

Mac. I was not tried by my Peers.

Judge. This is a general Exception, formerly annexed in your Plea: If you can ſhew ſome particular Cauſe alſo, you ſhall be heard.

Mac. I deſire Counſel to adviſe me.

Judge. When you did put in a Plea therein, you had Counſel to adviſe you in your Plea, and to argue it: Now your Time is paſt for Counſel; you muſt have none aſſigned to pick Holes in the Indictment.

Mac. I deſire the Court would conſider of it, before they proceed to Sentence.

Judge. You offer nothing to the Court that is of any Difficulty: You had Counſel, whether you ſhould be tried by your Peers, or the Jury here; which Jury are to try any Man under a Nobleman in this Kingdom.

Mac. I deſire to know under what Seal you thus proceed againſt me; for I think you ſit here by the New Seal.

Judge. What Seal do you mean? I ſit here by Vertue of the Old, by Order of Parliament.

Mac. Under Favour, I conceive, that the Ordinance of Parliament for the New Seal, makes all done by the Old Seal to be void.

Judge. Here is nothing done but by good Authority, and the Parliament's Approbation.

Mac. I conceive the Ordinance for the New Seal cuts off all Proceedings of the Old.

Judge. My Authority is not cut off. I was made by the Old Seal, before there was any New Seal, and so I am continued by the Parliament; and the Parliament did take Notice that I have been allowed to sit. Besides this, there is nothing done in this Court by the New Seal: The Sheriffs are here by a Charter, and that comes in from Year to Year; and there is no Seal in Order of Execution.

Judge. Well, if you have nothing to say for your self, I am to pronounce Sentence, as I am a Minister of Justice. You have been Indicted here for several Treasons contained in your Indictment, as was here of late read unto you; and you have had a fair Proceeding, and very deliberately: For your Indictment came in about *Allallowmas* last, three Weeks or a Month before the End of the last Term, three Weeks at least. You then made a Question, whether you ought to be tried by your Peers in *Ireland*, or a Jury here? The Court did so far deliberate in it, as to allow you Counsel to plead with the best Advantage you could: And afterwards, this Term, there hath been two Arguments at the Bar on each Side; where hath been said as much for you as can be. The Court over-ruled that, and so you are tried by a Jury; and you had the Liberty to challenge them, and had all the Advantages that the Law will afford, and take all the Exceptions you could. Truly, for my part, I see that there is not any one of them for me to sway the Judgment: The Treason and the Offences that you are charged withal are very heinous, your Crimes very impious; great Destruction hath followed upon your Plot, which the Jury have found you Guilty of. What a mighty cruel War and great Devastation in that Kingdom? Most horrid to speak or rehearse! It is fitter for you now to bethink your self, what your Offences are, and prepare your self for Death, rather than seek to mask or put Colours upon those things which are so manifestly proved to all the World. And now you are found Guilty; and therefore there is no Contradiction or Gain-saying will avail you: You ought to repent, and pray to God to forgive that Offence whereof you are Guilty. The Judgment that I am by the Law to pronounce against you is this: *Connor Mac-Guire*, Esq; You being found Guilty of the Treasons whereof you are indicted, your Judgment is, That you shall be carried from hence to the Place from whence you came, that is, the Tower, and from thence to *Tyburn*, the Place of Execution; and there you shall be hanged by the Neck, and cut down alive, your Bowels taken out, and burnt before your Face, your Head to be cut off, your Body to be divided into four Quarters, and the Head of your Body to be set up and disposed of, as the State shall appoint. *And the Lord have mercy upon your Soul.*

After Judgment pronounced, the King's Council demanded of him, whether he would have any Miniſters come to him, to prepare him for his End, and to adviſe him for the good of his Soul.

Mac. I deſire none of them: But I deſire I may be ſent Priſoner to *Newgate*.

Counſel. His Reaſon is, becauſe there are ſome Popiſh Prieſts there.

Judge. That cannot be: Your Judgment is to return to the Tower; where you may have Miniſters (if you pleaſe) to return to adviſe you for your Soul.

Mac. I deſire you, that ſome Gentlemen of my own Religion may have Acceſs to me, to confer with me; and ſome who are my Fellow-Priſoners in the Tower, to ſpeak with me in my Keeper's Preſence.

Judge. You muſt name ſome Body in particular.

Mac. I deſire to confer with Mr. *Walter Montague*. [Belike he knew him to be a Popiſh Prieſt or Jeſuit.]

Judge. You muſt prepare your ſelf to die againſt Saturday next.

Mac. I deſire a Fortnights Time to prepare my ſelf.

Judge. That is too long a Space, and I cannot grant it; but you ſhall have convenient Time.

Mac. I deſire you, that I may have three Days Notice at leaſt, to prepare my ſelf.

Judge. You ſhall have three Days Warning; but however delay no Time to prepare your ſelf.

Mac. I deſire my Execution may be altered, and not according to the Judgment; and that I may not be hanged and quartered.

Judge. This lies not in my Power to grant: But here are ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons in Court, and you were beſt addreſs your ſelf to them, that they may acquaint the Houſe with your Deſires.

Mac. I ſhall deſire the Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, ſo many as are here, to move the Houſe in my Behalf, that I may have a Fortnights Time to prepare my ſelf, and that the manner of my Execution may be changed.

Sir *John Clotworthy*. My Lord, I have been your School-Fellow heretofore, and have found ſome Ingenuity in you; and I have ſeen ſome Letters of yours, importing ſome Remorſe of Conſcience in you for this Fact; and I ſhould be glad to diſcern the like Ingenuity in you ſtill: And ſhall move the Houſe, that you may have ſome Miniſters appointed to come to you; and likewiſe acquaint them with your other Deſires.

Then the Priſoner departing from the Bar, Mr. *Prynne* adviſing him to confer with ſome godly Miniſters for the Good and Comfort of his Soul; He anſwered, that he would have none at all, unleſs he might have ſome Romiſh Prieſts of his own Religion.

To which Mr. *Prynne* replied, My Lord, theſe Romiſh Prieſts are the chief Inſtruments who have adviſed you to plot and perpetrate thoſe execrable Treaſons for which you are now condemned, and have brought upon you that ſhameful Judgment of a Traytor, the Execution whereof you even now ſo earneſtly deprecated. Since then they have proved ſuch evil deſtructive Counſellours, to you in your Life, you have great Reaſon to diſclaim them with their bloody Religion, and to ſeek out better Adviſers for you at your Death, leſt you eternally loſe your Soul, as well as your Life, for the Blood of thoſe many thouſand Innocents which have been ſhed by your Means. To which he, pauſing a little, anſwered, That he was reſolved in his Way. Whereupon another Lawyer ſaid, My Lord, you were beſt to hear both ſides. To which he anſwered, in an obſtinate manner, I am ſettled on one ſide already, and therefore I deſire not to confer with any other. And ſo departed through the Hall towards the Tower, the People crouding and running about to behold his Perſon.

After the Sentence pronounced againſt the Lord *Mac-Guire*, as before ſaid, he petitioned the Parliament, as followeth.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament.

The Humble Petition of the Lord MAC-GUIRE;

Humbly ſheweth,

Mac-Guire's Petition to be beheaded.

THAT your Petitioner ſtands condemned for his Life, and adjudged to be drawn, hanged and quartered: The Performance whereof (he humbly conceives) in ſome more favourable manner, will be ſatisfactory to Juſtice. And foraſmuch as your Petitioner hath hitherto enjoyed the Degree and Dignity of a Lord, which he humbly conceives your Lordſhips are well acquainted with:

In tender Conſideration whereof, he deſireth that your Honours would graciouſly be pleaſed, in Mercy, to mitigate the Rigour of his Sentence, and turn it to that Degree which moſt befits the Denomination he hath: And as he hath been looked on by the Eye of Juſtice in his Condemnation, ſo in this Particular he may be pitied, and have Mercy.

And he ſhall ever pray, &c.

Cornelius Mac-Guire.

But

BUT this Petition was rejected by the Parliament, and on *Thurſday*, *Febrvary* the 20th, he was drawn on a Sledge from the *Tower* through *London*, and ſo to *Tyburn*; where being removed into a Cart, he kneeled and prayed a while: After which Sheriff *Gibbs* ſpake to him, repreſenting the heinouſneſs of his Crimes, and the vaſt Number that had been murthered by that Conſpiracy for which he was to ſuffer, and therefore exhorted him to expreſs his Sorrow for it: In anſwer to which he ſaid, I deſire Almighty God to forgive me my Sins. Rejected his Petition.

Sheriff *Gibbs*. Do you believe you did well in thoſe wicked Actions?

Mac-Guire. I have but a ſhort Time, do not trouble me.

Sher. Sir, it is but juſt I ſhould trouble you, that you may not be troubled for ever?

Mac. I beſeech you, Sir! trouble me not, I have but a little Time to ſpend.

Sher. Sir, I ſhall give you as much Time after, as you ſhall ſpend to give Satisfaction to the People; I do require you, as an Inſtrument ſet in God's ſtead here, to make an Acknowledgment to the People, whether you are ſorry for what you have done, or no? whether it be good or no?

Mac. I beſeech you do not trouble me; I am not diſpoſed to give you an Account. Pray give me leave to pray.

Doctor *Sibbald*. Give Glory to God, that your Soul may not be preſented to God with the Blood of ſo many thouſand People.

Sher. You are either to go to Heaven or Hell; if you make not an ingenuous Confeſſion, your Caſe is deſperate: Had you any Commiſſion or no?

Mac. I tell you that there was no Commiſſion that ever I ſaw.

Sher. Who were Actors or Plotters with you, or gave you any Commiſſion?

Mac. For God's ſake, give me leave to depart in Peace.

Then they asked him if he had not ſome Pardon or Bull from the Pope for what he did: To which he only anſwered, I am not of the ſame Religion with you. And being further urged about a Bull or Pardon, ſaid, I ſaw none of it: All that I knew, I delivered in my Examinations; all that I ſaid in my Examinations are true; all that I ſaid is right; I beſeech you let me depart in Peace; and ſo not returning them any Anſwer to their Queſtions, he continued *mumbling* over a Paper which he had in his Hand, as he had done from his firſt coming. The Sheriff commanded his Pockets to be ſearched, whether he had no Bull or Pardon about him, but they found in his Pockets only ſome Beads and a Crucifix, which were taken from him: And then Doctor *Sibbald* ſaid to him, come my Lord, leave thoſe and acknowledge your Offence to God and the World; One drop of the Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* is able

to

to purge away all the heavy Load of Blood that is upon you; it is not your *Ave Maria's*, nor these things will do you any Good: But it is *Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata Mundi.* The Lord *Mac-Guire* seemed not to regard his Discourse, but read out of his Paper to the People as followeth.

Since I am here to die, I desire to depart with a quiet Mind, and with the marks of a good Christian, that is, asking Forgiveness first of God, and next of the World. And I do forgive (from the bottom of my Heart) all my Enemies and Offenders, even those that have an Hand in my Death. I die a Roman Catholick, *and although I have been a great Sinner, yet am I now by God's Grace, heartily sorry for all my Sins, and I do most confidently trust to be saved (not by my own Works, but only) by the Passion, Merits and Mercy of my dear Saviour* Jesus Christ, *into whose Hand I commend my Soul.*

And then added, *I beseech you Gentlemen, let me have a little Time to say my Prayers.*

Sher. Sir, If you Answer ingenuously to those Questions we shall ask you, you shall have Time afterwards. Whether do you account the shedding of the Protestant Blood to be a Sin or not? And whether do you desire Pardon of God for that Sin?

Mac. I do desire Pardon of God for all my Sins; I cannot resolve you in any thing for my Part.

Sher. You can tell what your Conscience dictates to you; Do you think it was a Sin or not?

Mac. For my Part I cannot determine it.

Sher. Then now it seems nothing to you to kill so many?

Mac. How do you mean killing of them? To tell you my Mind directly, for the killing I do not know that, but I think the *Irish* had a just Cause for their Wars.

Sher. Was there any Assault made upon you? Had you not entred into a Covenant? Had you not engaged by Oath your self to the King?

Mac. For *Jesus Christ's* sake, I beseech you to give me a little Time to prepare my Self.

Sher. Have pity upon your own Soul.

Mac. For God's sake have pity upon me, and let me say my Prayers.

Sher. I say the like to you, in relation to your own Soul; Whether you think the Massacre of so many Thousand Protestants was a good Act? For *Jesus Christ's* sake have pity upon your own Soul.

Mac. Pray let me have a little Time to say my Prayers.

All this while his Eye was mostly upon his Papers, *mumbling* over something out of them to himself; whereupon one of the Sheriffs demanding

manding those Papers of him, he flung them down. They were taken up and given to the Sheriff, and a Copy of them hereafter follows. They ask'd him further, whether there were not some Agreement with the Recusants here in *England*? Whereunto he answer'd, I take it upon my Death, I do not know that any Man knew of it; and after some other such like Talk, the Sheriff bidding him prepare himself for Death, He said, *I do beseech all the Catholicks that are here to Pray for me, I beseech God to have mercy upon my Soul.* And so was Executed.

A Copy of the Papers which the Lord *Mac-Guire* carried in his Hand to the Place of Execution, which were delivered to the Sheriffs.

Mac-Guire's *Papers* carried in his Hand to Execution, directing his devotion.

A Letter of some of the Friends of the Lord Mac-Guire, *who (it seems) intended to attend him to the Place of Execution.*

Most Loving Sir,

MY *Master his Coach shall wait on you infallibly. That Day your Friend* William *shall go by Coach all the Way, upon a Red Horse, with a White Hat, and in a Grey Jacket, and then you cannot choose (by the Grace of God) but to know the Coach, of two whitish Horses, and then you may do, or shew that Token only, as to lift up to your Face your Hand, nodding (or inclining down) your Head, and there shall go two or three (divers) Coaches for the same Purpose, and be sure to have plenary Physick as you desire. I send you this holy Stone, by Virtue whereof you may gain a plenary Physick, in saying any certain Prayer. I beseech you, dear Sir, be of good Courage, for you shall not want any Thing, for that happy Journey, and offer you your self wholly for him, who did the same for you. Pray earnestly for your Country, and for your own Sons, that God may prosper them. I do humbly intreat you to pray for me, your own poor afflicted Servant,*

Your poor Gray.

You shall do well to send your Letters to Morrow to that young Man that comes to me, and the Wooden Cross *that I have sent there of late; I beseech you send me Word, whether the* Reliquary *that came along with those two Crosses was your's or your Companion's,* Mac-Mohun Hugh.

This was in the Margin of the Letter, as it were a Postscript.

These Words following were in an *Irish Character*,

Mo mhile bearnacht thugad a mhic mhanma.

In English.

My Thousand Blessings unto you, Son of my Soul.

The

The following PAPER was only in *Latin*, but here *Engliſhed verbatim.*

BEloved Son in Chriſt, believe Almighty God, who governs all the World by his eternal Providence, hath appointed this Way to thy Salvation, and this manner of Death, though he could have brought thee to the Land of Bliſs, by another Way, knew this to be more expedient. Therefore (my Son) thou ſhouldſt ſuffer this kind of glorious Death which thy God hath ordained for thee, with an elevated Mind, yea, thou ſhouldſt deſire it; certainly this kind of Death is a great mercy of God; Is it not a ſpecial Gift of God, to have a certain Time of Sorrow and Repentance for Offences committed? Oh! with how great a Deſire did the kingly Prophet, David, *wiſh that he might know the Length of his Days! Expoſtulating this with God,* Make me, O Lord, to know my End, and the Number of my Days. *This kind of Death is granted to many, who rather with a perverſe Mind, and by an unforeſeen Death fall to ſuffer everlaſting Puniſhment,* Pſal. 36. David *being weary of the Miſeries and Dangers of this preſent Life, ſaid, Wo is me! becauſe my Pilgrimage is prolonged, as if the Time of his Baniſhment ſeemed long; beſides* Paul *ſays, O wretched Man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from this body of Death,* Rom. 7. *And out of Living in the Land of the Living he ſaid, I deſire to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt. Therefore (my Lord) bear this death which now hangs over head with a quiet Mind, for Chriſt died for you;*

CRede (Dilecte in Chriſto fili) Deum optimum, maximum, qui Mundum hunc univerſum æterna quadam mentis proviſione moderatur; hanc Salutis tuæ Viam, et hunc modum moriendi, Statuiſſe: qui quidem quamvis te ad fælicitatis patriam alio tramite ducere potuiſſet, magis hoc tibi expedire præcognovit. Ergo (mi fili) hoc genus glorioſum mortis, quod Dominus Deus ſic tibi ornavit, erecto animo perferas, quinetiam exoptes. Certè hujuſmodi mors magnum Dei beneficium eſt; Nonne ſpeciale Donum Dei eſt, habere certum tempus dolendi et pœnitendi de offenſis commiſſis contra ſuam Divinam Majeſtatem? O! quanto deſiderio expoſtulavit ſibi dari certum et notum vitæ ſuæ ſpatium Regius Propheta *Davidus*, Expoſtulans a Deo ſic! Notum fac mihi Domine finem meum et numerum dierum meorum. Hoc genus mortis enim quamplurimis eſt conceſſum, qui perverſo potius animo improviſa morte ceciderunt, pœnas daturi ſempiternas. *Davidus* pertæſus miſerias et pericula præſentis vitæ, dicebat, Heu mihi quia incolatus meus prolongatus eſt, quaſi longum illi videretur tempus exilii. Beatus *Paulus* dicebat, Infelix Ego, quis me liberabit à corpore mortis hujus? Et ex deſiderio vivendi in terrâ Viventium, dicebat, Cupio diſſolvi et eſſe cum Chriſto. Ideo (mi Domine) hanc mortem quæ tibi jam imminet, æquo animo pro Chriſto

ſto acerbiter pro te mortuo, feras, hanc, amariſſimam Chriſti mortem tormenta, & cæteris oculis tui cordis ferventer me dictare. Vide,—

Therefore fervently meditate with the Eyes of your Heart, upon this bitter Death of Chriſt; and his Torments. See,——

Theſe Lines following were written on the back-ſide of the Paper, part of it being before torn, and no more brought by him than what is here.

——gni ſui te promoveret, & dicas, In manus tuas Domine commendo Spiritum meum, redemiſti me Domine Deus Veritatis: Tu me creaſti Deus meus, Tu me redemiſti: Pater ſanctiſſime totus ſum tuus, fiat in me Voluntas tua, illumina oculos meos, ne unquam obdormiam in morte. Beatam *Mariam* invoces in auxiliatricem dicendo, *Maria* Mater gratiæ, mater miſericordiæ, tu nos ab Hoſte protege, & in horâ mortis ſuſcipe, Invoces etiam ſanctum *Michaelem* Archangelum, & Angelum Cuſtodem, & ſanctos Patronos, & demum omnes Sanctos, ut intercedant pro te & adjuvent te ſuis Suffragiis, & meritis. Recites etiam hæc verba: Domine Jeſu Chriſte, credo quod Deus meus & Redemptor meus es tu, & credo firmiter quicquid Sancta Eccleſia Catholica proponit credendum, & in hæc proteſtor me velle vivere & mori. Domine Jeſu dolet mihi, quod tantam bonitatem offenderim, & dolet quod amplius non doleo de offenſis contra te Creatorem & Salvatorum meum, cogitatione, verbo, & opere & omiſſione perpetratis, & humiliter peto mihi, condonari per ſanguinem tuum quem pro mea ſalute profudiſti. Et ſi quod oblitus ſum, vel

——*his Kingdom ſhall move thee, and ſay, Into thy Hands I commend my Spirit, Thou haſt redeemed me, O Lord God of Truth; Thou haſt created me, O my God, Thou haſt redeemed me, O moſt holy Father. I am all thine, Let thy Will be done in me; illuminate mine Eyes that I may never ſleep in Death: Thou ſhalt invocate bleſſed* Mary *for thy helper, ſaying,* Mary *the Mother of Grace, the Mother of Mercy, do thou protect us from the Enemy, and receive us in the Hour of Death, thou ſhalt invocate alſo Saint* Michael *the Archangel and the Angel thy Keeper, and the holy Patrons, and laſtly all the Saints, that they may interceed for thee and help thee with their Prayers and Merits: Thou ſhalt alſo recite theſe words, O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I believe that thou art my God and my Redeemer, and I firmly believe whatſoever the holy Catholick Church propounds to be believed, and profeſs that I will live and die in this Faith. It grieves me that I have offended ſo great Goodneſs, and it grieves me that I can grieve no more for my Offences committed againſt thee, my Creator and Saviour, in Thought, Word and Deed, and by Omiſſion: and I humbly beſeech thee to pardon me by thy Blood, which thou haſt poured out for my*

Salvation; and if I have forgot any thing which hath offended thy Majesty, or do not know it, I desire to know it and repent it. And in the mean time I ask Forgiveness of all, and likewise for thy sake do from my Heart pass by all Offences whereby others have offended me, also I pray them to forgive me, and if I have detained any thing from any Man, my Heirs shall make Restitution to them to whom it is due.

non cognosco quod Majestatem tuam offenderit, de eo illuminari cupio & pænitere; & interim de omnibus veniam peto: Omnibus qui me offenderunt ex Corde meo, & similiter omnes offensas propter te dimitto, & si quem ego offendi, precor etiam veniam mihi dari, & si aliquid alicujus est apud me, volo satis facere per Hæredem meum, omnibus quibus Debeo.

The Copy of another Paper, containing a Direction for his Devotion in his Passage to and at the Place of Execution, sent from his Ghostly Father with the former.

Jesus IHS Maria.

In your Passage to Execution, remember as followeth.

To think on our Lord carrying his Cross to Mount Calvario.
Or on the proper Meditation against the Devil's Temptation.
Think that the Pain is short, the Reward Eternal and Everlasting.

Have Mercy on me, O God, &c.
Lord not in thy Wrath.

Miserere mei Deus, *&c.*
Domine ne in furore tuo.

The first penitential Psalm.

Our Father.
Hail Mary.

Pater noster.
Ave *Maria.*

In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded in thy Justice.

In te Domine speravi, non confundar in æternum in tua Justitia.

By the Mystery of thy holy Incarnation, O Lord deliver us.

Per Misterium sanctæ incarnationis tuæ libera nos Domine.

Sanctifie me with the Spirit of Christ.

Anima Christi sanctifica me.

Thou sought'st me being weary.

Quærens me sedisti lassus.

I humbly pray.

Oro supplex.

O holy Angels.

Sancti Angeli.

We fly to thee for Aid, O holy Mother of God.

Sub tuum præsidium confugimus sancta Dei Genetrix.

Remember, O Maker of all things.

Memento rerum Conditor.

Remember

Remember the Promiſes of God, That none ſhall be tempted, &c. *Call upon me in the Day of,* &c. *Come to me all ye that be heavy,* &c.

When you come to Newgate *make your Token for an Abſolution.*
When you come to the Place of Execution, do as followeth.

O Domine Jeſu Chriſte adoro te in Cruce, *&c.*	*O Lord Jeſus Chriſt I worſhip thee in the Croſs.*
Ave dulcis Mater Chriſti, *&c.*	*Hail ſweet Mother of Chriſt,* &c.
Domina mea ſancta *Maria.*	*O holy Lady* Mary.
Nunc dimittis Servum Domine.	*Lord now let thy Servant depart,* &c.
Miſerere mei Deus.	*Have Mercy on me, O God.*
Quærens me ſediſti laſſus.	*Thou ſought'ſt me being weary.*
Oro ſupplex & acclivis.	*I humbly pray on my Knee.*
Tu Fons Miſericordiæ.	*Thou art the Fountain of Mercy.*

Pray for the Church of Ireland, *M. Gred. ſay,* Jeſus Maria *three times for an Indulgence, alſo a* Pater *and an* Ave *and* Jeſus Maria *three times for the ſame end.*

Then make either of theſe Tokens, ſtretch out your Hands in form of a Croſs or (if you cannot do ſo) join them together before your Breaſt, with a Handkerchief, twiſted about your Hand (with Sorrow for your Sins, and earneſtly deſiring Abſolution of the Church) and God will abſolve you.

Before you make this Token, ſettle on your Deſire, and ſay, I deſire an Abſolution, &c. *and ſay,* Confiteor Deo Omnipotenti, *I confeſs me to Almighty God, and then make your Token.*

* *Then ſay,* O Amabiliſſima bonitas! Confiteor Deo, *with Sorrow for your Sins, and ſettle your Heart earneſtly to deſire an Abſolution from the Church (and I deſire an Abſolution) make your Token (or Mark) of lifting both your Hands to your Face, and letting fall your Handkerchief, God will abſolve you.*

After that pray for your Enemies and Perſecutors, and forgive them from the bottom of your Heart.

Then willingly reſign your ſelf wholly to the Bleſſed Will of God, and truſt only to be ſaved by the Merits of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

This was written but croſs'd out again, and another Paper pinn'd upon it, written in another manner, which alſo doth follow.

* This Paper was pinn'd upon that which was croſſed out.

Then ſay theſe Words following (publickly) that you may be heard.

" Since I am here to die, I deſire to depart with a quiet Mind, and " with the Marks of a good Chriſtian, that is, asking Forgiveneſs firſt " of God, and next of the World. And I do forgive (from the bottom

" of my Heart) all my Enemies, Offenders, even thoſe that have had an " hand in my Death.

Say moreover.

" I die a *Roman Catholick*, and although I have been a great Sinner, " Yet am I now (by God's Grace) heartily ſorry for all my Sins. And " I do moſt confidently truſt to be ſaved, not by any of my own Works, " but only by the Paſſion, Merits and Mercy of my dear Saviour Jeſus " Chriſt, into whoſe Hands I commend my Spirit.

Offer all thy Sufferings to our Saviour in Union of what he ſuffered.

Laſtly ſay,

O Lord Jeſus Chriſt.	Domine Jeſu Chriſte.
For that Bitterneſs.	Propter illam Amaritudinem.
Thou ſought'ſt me being weary.	Quærens me ſediſti laſſus.
I humbly pray on my Knees.	Oro ſupplex & acclivis.
Thou art the Fountain of Mercy.	Tu fons Miſericordiæ.

Reſign your ſelf willingly and wholly to God.

Upon the Ladder make your Sign for an Abſolution, and ſay, *I deſire with all my Heart an Abſolution from my Mother the* Catholick Church *for my Sins.*

Sir Phelim Roe O Neale's *Patent to* Brian Mac-Guire, *Esq; to be Governour of the County of* Fermanagh, *Dated the* 10*th of* May, 1642.

FOrasmuch as for the great Truſt, Confidence, Fidelity, and circumſpective, conſcionable, righteous Care and Diligence we repoſe in our truſty and well-beloved Friend and Couſin, *Brian Mac Cohonogh Mac-Guire*, of *Clanawley* in the County of *Fermanagh*, Eſq; have by theſe Preſents Conſtituted, Nominated, Ordained and Appointed, like as by theſe our Letters Patents do Conſtitute, Nominate, Ordain and Appoint him the ſaid *Brian Mac Cohonogh Mac-Guire*, to be our Governour, in and throughout the whole County of *Fermanagh* aforeſaid, hereby granting and giving him full Power and Authority to execute, fulfil, perform and do, all ſuch Act and Acts, Thing and Things whatſoever, to the Place, and Office of Governour any Ways appertaining, as well for the Common Good, as for the upholding and maintaining of his Majeſty's Prerogative, his Crown and Dignity. And the upholding and maintaining of the ancient Holy Catholick Roman Religion, hereby alſo ratifying, allowing and confirming all ſuch Act and Acts, Thing and Things whatſoever; by our ſaid Governour done and performed, according to the true purport, meaning and intent of theſe our Letters Patents during our Pleaſure, in as ample and large manner as if we had done the ſame in our own proper Perſon. Given under our Hand and Seal this eleventh Day of *May*. Anno Dom. 1642.

Phelim O Neale.

For *Brian Mac-Cohonogh Mac-Guire*,
Governour of *Fermanagh*. Theſe.

Copia vera. William Cole.

FINIS.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM